KINGS OF KĀSHMĪRA

A Translation of the Sanskrita Work Rajataranggini of Kahlana Pandita, Jonaraja Shrivara, and of Prajyabhatta & Shuka

Volume II

Jogesh Chunder Dutt

Unlike the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs and the Chinese, the Indians had no tradition of historical writing. While Indian literature provides a great deal of material for the reconstruction of Indian history, neither Sanskrit nor any other Indian literature included history as one of its main branches.

The only exception to this rule is Kahlana's Rājataraṅgiṇi—a history of Kashmir. Considering the poverty of historical records in India, the value of this rare historical work of singular significance can scarcely be exaggerated.

Every great social and religious revolution, and every great historical event which transpired in India have left their impress on the history of Kashmir. By narrating this history, Kahlana provides us with a historical sourcebook of inestimable value.

The present work is the first English translation of this unique masterpiece. A short resume of the Sanskrit original published by H. H. Wilson was the only available English rendering, but his work in addition to being incomplete, was flawed by the mixing up of inaccurate additions he had gathered from Persian translations of Kahlana.

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(A Translation of the Sanskrita Work Rājataranggiṇi of Kahlana Panditā)

(Vol. II)

Jogesh Chunder Dutt

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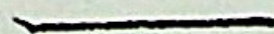
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PREFACE.



The writer has the pleasure now to lay before the public the second volume of his translation of Rájataraṅginī. He regrets the long time which has intervened since the publication of the first volume in 1879 and the issue of the present volume. His official duties, ill health and long absence from Calcutta were mainly the causes of this delay. The volume, now published, completes the work of Kahlaṇa and brings down the narrative to a period when the country of Kashmīra was just recovering from a long and disasterous civil war.

Kahlaṇa was contemporaneous with the last king whose account is narrated in his history, and probably he used to read his work, from time to time, at the court of his sovereign. He has consequently made every effort to justify the conduct of the princes of the usurping dynasty, and to censure, often unjustly, the conduct of the last king of the previous line. Writing for a courtly audience, Kahlaṇa often indulges in style which is more artistic than clear; and his love of alliteration has clouded many an important passage. In several places, persons and events have been referred to by him so incidentally as to make it extremely difficult for us to identify them, though the sense was no doubt clear

to people of his generation. And, lastly, his narration too is not faultless. Not only does he often attach undue importance to insignificant incidents, but he also travels from subject to subject without having the patience to complete the account of any one of them. He might have left us much more of useful and valuable information of his own times than he has done.

As regards the history of times anterior to his, all that can be said is, that, in the absence of any other historical records, his must be considered very valuable. Wherever light has been received from other sources, his account appears to be meagre and incomplete, though generally correct.

But whatever his defects may be, one is inclined to overlook them when he considers that he is perhaps the only author in Saṃskṛita, now known, who attempted to write a sober history. If he did not write quite in the spirit and style that would be approved in modern times, it was more the fault of the spirit of his national literature than his own. To him belongs the credit of discovering, as it were, a new department in literature which it was the duty of his successors to improve.

CALCUTTA,
The 14th March 1887.

J. C. DUTT.

*An Introductory Essay on the History of Kashmira**

BY

R. C. DUTT.

I

THE want of an authentic history of the ancient Hindus has been a matter of just regret from the days of Sir William Jones. Attempts have been repeatedly made to fix the chronology of ancient India; but every attempt, however ingeniously commenced and assiduously conducted, appears to have resulted in disappointment and failure. Baffled antiquarians have at last recorded their conviction that the task is hopeless; that the nation which cultivated poetry and mathematics and some of the sciences in remote times with such wonderful success must ever remain without a history; that the dead past of India is to us a volume sealed with seven seals, and the seals will never be broken.

While we share to a certain extent the regrets of antiquarians at the want of an authentic history of India, we cannot at the same time share their belief that the past of India is altogether a sealed volume to us. While we agree with them in considering the fixing of a chronology for ancient India a hopeless task, we venture to think that we may yet obtain much useful and interesting information about the ancient Hindus without knowing their chronology. While we despair of ever being able to construct a connected narrative of the great wars and successive reigns and important occurrences that took place in ancient India from extant materials, we are nevertheless hopeful that those materials will enable the historian to trace the *real history* of the great people and their peculiar civilisation, and to reproduce with faithfulness and accuracy, at least in general outlines, the story of their national rise and progress, from the date of their settlement as shepherd and agricultural tribes on the banks of the Indus, to the founding of powerful independent kingdoms and the wonderful development of religions, literature, arts and sciences all over the continent

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* The above essay appeared as a review of the first volume of the present translation in the *Calcutta Review* for July 1880. It is here inserted with the permission of the writer.

of India. And if we can succeed in doing this, if we can trace how the Hindu nation achieved its civilisation gradually and through successive stages, and if we can further ascertain the general character of the civilisation of each stage or epoch, we shall not very much regret that a list of kings, or of wars, is wanting to complete the history of India.

Indeed, it seems to us that the disappointment and failure of the earlier antiquarians were to a great extent due to the wrong method they pursued. Our earlier antiquarians spent all their energies in trying to construct lists of kings for the different provinces and kingdoms of India. Sir William Jones and his fellow labourers repeatedly had recourse to the Puranas, and such lists were again and again made out; all more or less inccorrect and valueless. Later investigators followed in their footsteps, and Mr. H. H. Wilson has given us lists of some of the oldest reigning dynasties of India. We believe these lists to be more or less incorrect; but supposing they were correct, we fail to see what we should gain by having long lists of royal names of the Houses of the Sun or the Moon. If it were possible to construct such lists with regard to every kingdom in India, from Kashmira in the north to Drabira and Carnata in the south, we should still know as little of the real history of India as if they had never existed; the true history of the people would still remain for us a book sealed with seven seals.

Fortunately, with the advance of antiquarian knowledge, such attempts have been given up and we have been taught to follow a better method. The labours of living antiquarians generally, and of Max Müller more especially, have more and more brought home to us the conviction that the gradual development of civilisation in India followed a method which can be ascertained, and that the details, not of wars or reigns, but of the progress of the nation from age to age, can be ascertained from the materials in our possession. A great nation never passes away without leaving records of its thought and achievements. And if in India such records have been left unintentionally and almost unwittingly,—they are for that very reason the more reliable, because ungarbled. Each successive age has left, in its literature, an impress, a photograph as it were, of its thought and civilisation; and when we bring all these photographs together, compare the features of the nation gradually

developing into the strength of manhood, or declining to the furrows and feebleness of old age,—we perceive at a glance the whole history of the Hindu nation and its civilisation. There is no gap anywhere, no link is wanting; we never miss the cause when we perceive a great effect or change in society; and a full, connected, and true history of four thousand years,—such as no other nation in the world can lay claim to,—is laid before our eyes,—so full, so clear, that he who runs may read.

Such is the method that we are now pursuing, and there can be no doubt that the labours of the present generation will be rich in results. It is true that a history of Ancient India has yet to be written; but the matetrials we are gathering are so rich and so full, that such a history is only a question of time. Years of patient enquiry and criticism will perhaps yet be necessary to gather from the existing records and works of different ages the laws, manners, and customs of the people of India through successive stages of civilisation; and even after such enquiry, much will yet remain obscure or doubtful, especially in the minuter details. Nevertheless, the general outline of the history of the people will be ascertained with accuracy and distinctness, and the philosophical historian will trace with pleasure the progress of a nation isolated from the rest of the world, and working out its civilisation gradually and uninterruptedly, through a period of four thousand years.

When such work of criticism and enquiry shall have borne its fruits, we shall know how over two thousand years before the Christian era, bands or pastoral and agricultural tribes left their homes in Iran or Bactria and settled on the fertile banks of the five rivers of the Punjab. We shall know how they clustered together in small villages under their petty kings or chiefs; tended their cattle on the banks of rivers; cleared forests to introduce a rude sort of agriculture; and lived at first a semi-nomad and rude life. We shall know how they fought with the black dwellers of the country and defended and extended their settlements by their strong right arm; how they worshipped the sun, the sky, the fire, and whatever else was striking and beautiful in nature; and how the patriarchs of tribes, or the fathers of families were the natural priests, and invoked blessings on the tribe or family, and prayed to the gods for the preservation of cattle or the

confusion of their black enemies. Such hymns are still preserved to us after a period of three thousand years and more, and breathe a simplicity, a fervour, and a piety worthy of the earliest recorded poetry of the human race.

We shall further gather from such enquiry and criticism how priestcraft and priestly influence crept into this simple and archaic state of society, spoilt its fervour, and repressed its native energy. Forms of worship were gradually elaborated and crystallised until they assumed monstrous proportions; priests formed a caste by themselves, and, as elsewhere in the world, domineered over laymen; kings and soldiers formed a second proud caste, while the great mass of traders and agriculturists formed a third. The aborigines who had owned the supremacy of the conquerors, were content to be their slaves and formed a fourth caste. These divisions, and the increase of priestly influence and formal worship through hireling priests, repressed the healthy growth of the people and restrained their activity of thought for hundreds of years.

The only element which disturbed from time to time this unhealthy stagnation, was the rivalry of the great royal and military class, which could scarcely brook the supremacy even of priests. In the end this caste seems to have openly questioned priestly supremacy, and given a healthy stimulus to national thought and action. The earliest philosophical speculations of India are connected with this movement, inaugurated by the military caste, while the name of Janaka of Mithila, who was the proudest asserter of Khatriya supremacy, is also connected with the story of the first great Aryan invasion of southern India. Thus the national activity of this period manifested itself in action no less than in contemplation. New lands were visited and new kingdoms founded, until the whole of northern India and a part of the south were carved out into strong independent kingdoms and races, living side by side, all following the same religion, all enjoying a high degree of civilisation, and forming a sort of united confederation of nations. Wars were, of course, of frequent occurrence, as every ambitious prince tried to establish a sort of supremacy over his neighbours; but these wars were of a humane nature and never disturbed the peoples in their respective occupations; and when the supremacy so much sought after was established, the victor

and the surrounding princes were friendly again. One of the most signal of these international wars, if we may so term them, occurred about thirteen hundred years before Christ—it was the war of the Kurus. This war was the commencement of a new epoch in the history of India;—it closed the Vedic epoch, and was the commencement of the epic period of India.*

II.

The traditions of India assert that Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas, was contemporaneous with the war of the Kurus. Vyasa was probably a mythical personage; but the tradition points at any rate to the fact that the great war happened about the time when the Vedas were collected, arranged and compiled,—that is to say, at the close of the Vedic period. But, although this war happened immediately at the close of the Vedic period, and although the first invasion of Aryans into southern India occurred, as we have seen above, at a still earlier period, that is within the Vedic times, the two great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, describing these two events respectively, were composed many centuries after. Indeed these two epics are not the

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* It is needless to remark that the real facts of the war and the names of those who faught it have been much altered and destorted in the epic of the Mahabharata, which was composed long after the occurrence took place. The only *contemporaneous* allusion to the war that has yet been discovered is in the Satapatha Brahmana of the Yajur Veda. In the earlier part of the Brahmana the Kurus and the Panchalas are represented as two friendly races living together in peace. In the latter portions of the Brahmana there are allusions to a violent occurrence and sin, and the fall of Janamejaya Parikshita and his brothers Bhimasena, Ugrasena and Srutasena. The great war must therefore have taken place between the time when the earlier portions of the Satapatha Brahmana were composed and the time when the later portions were composed. And as the Satapatha Brahmana was composed towards the close of the Vedic period, we are right in placing the great war at the close of the Vedic period.

There is no allusion in the Satapatha Brahmana or any other Brahmana to the Pandavas, and apparently therefore, they were not among the main actors in the real war between the Kurus and the Panchalas. The legend of the Pandavas is in fact of a later date. The Buddhist work Lalita Vistara makes an allusion to the five Pandus in the introduction,—but in the work itself the Pandavas are described as a wild mountain tribe, living by marauding and plunder. The Pandavas therefore, if they had any real existence at all, were probably a Non-Aryan hill-tribe, among whom polyandry prevailed, and who may or may not have taken a part in the war between the Aryan Kurus and Panchalas.

The name of Arjuna is mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana, but not as a hero of the war, but as synonymous with the name of the god Indra!

works of any single poets, but are the productions of saintly and imaginative writers of many centuries, each succeeding writer adding to, or altering, or modernising, the great heritage left by his predecessors. The traditions of the two great events lived in the memory of the nation and spontaneously gave rise to lays and songs, centuries after the occurrences had taken place. The names of the heroes of the wars had by that time been considerably altered, miraculous incidents had been intertwined with the main story, and as the great works went on increasing, numerous tales from the great storehouse of Hindu mythology were gradually mixed up with the stories of the wars. To throw a halo of sacredness over the compositions, they were ascribed to two great saints who were said to be contemporaneous with the two great wars, and under the shadow of these great names, each succeeding writer contributed his mite, until the poems assumed the ponderous proportions which they now exhibit. Thus the greatest literary heritages of India are in truth the results of national, not of individual, genius. Scholars like Weber and Max Müller agree that the main portions of them were composed before the spread of Buddhism in India in the third century before Christ; but portions have been added, and the poems have been modernised perhaps in a still later period.

Such being the history of the two great epics of India, it is necessary to turn to the events which they describe. We have observed before, that the war of the Kurus occurred at the close of the Vedic period. For several reasons it is necessary to fix the date of this occurrence. If we can fix the date of this period, we shall know when the Vedic period closed and the Vedas were compiled and arranged; we shall learn how early the whole of Northern India was divided into powerful and civilised independent tribes and kingdoms; and lastly, and what is more immediately to our purpose, we shall know when the authentic history of Kashmira begins,—for the history of Kashmira, which is the subject of our present article, commences at the time of the Kuru war.

Fortunately we are able to fix this date with a greater degree of certainty than we can fix the dates of most other events of ancient Hindu history. A number of very distinguished scholars, starting from different premises, and proceeding by different lines of argument, both astronomical

and chronological, have yet arrived at much the same conclusion, *viz.*, that the Kuru war and the final compilation of the Vedas took place about the 12th or 14th century before Christ. We need not here recapitulate their researches and reasoning on this point, but will only briefly allude to the results. Colebrooke, following two different lines of reasoning, arrives nevertheless, at the same date, *viz* 14th century before Christ. Major Wilford fixes 1370 B. C. while Dr. Hamilton puts it down to the 12th century B. C. Archdeacon Pratt accepts this last date on astronomical grounds, while Mr. H. H. Wilson accepts the conclusion of Colebrooke. All later historians and scholars have accepted either the 14th or the 12th century before Christ as the date of the momentous events which opened a new epoch in the history of India.

To the results of the researches of these eminent scholars we will only add the testimony of such facts and figures as the history of two great kingdoms in India can supply. The history of Magadha, thanks to the Buddhistic revolution, presents us with some dates which cannot be disputed. Sakya Sinha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, died about 550 B. C., and thirty-five princes reigned in Magadha between the Kuru war and the time of Sakya Sinha. Seventeen or sixteen years are considered a good general average of the reigns of kings in India; we shall accept the more moderate average, *viz.*, 16 years, and this calculation shows that the Kuru war took place in the 12th century before Christ.

Last, though not the least, is the testimony of the history of Kashmira. Kalhana Pandita, the writer of the history, lived in 1148 A. D. and his dates are perfectly reliable, and have rightly been accepted by Mr. H. H. Wilson, up to five or six centuries previous to the time of the historian. Indeed there can be no doubt as to the correctness of Kalhana's dates up to the reign of Durlabhabardhana, who ascended the throne in 598 A. D.* When, however the historian travels to an anterior period, his dates become extravagant and unreliable, and require to be adjusted. Mr. Wilson has, by so adjusting the dates, ascertained that the reign of

* Mr. Wilson makes it 615 A. D. But we accept the dates given by Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, because his work is a literal translation of the Sanscrit history, whereas Mr. Wilson often consulted Persian authorities in writing his essay. The difference, however, is only of seventeen years.

Gonanda I, who was contemporaneous with the heroes of the Kuru war, happened about 1400 B. C. We should have very much liked to see the present translator, Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, attempting such an adjustment of dates. Since, however, he has not done so, and, as we cannot for many reasons accept Mr. Wilson's dates, * we shall attempt to adjust the dates for ourselves.

We have seen that Durlabhabardhana ascended the throne in 598 A. D. Thirty-seven kings reigned between the time of Gonanda III and Durlabhabardhana. Giving sixteen years to each reign, we find that Gonanda III ascended the throne A. D. 6, that is about the commencement of the Christian era.

What was the period which elapsed between Gonanda I and Gonanda III? We are told that fifty-two kings reigned from Gonanda I to Gonanda III, and they reigned over a period of 1266 years. This gives an average of over twenty-four years for each reign, which, though not impossible, is highly improbable. Either, then, the period (1266 years) has been wrongly described, or there is a mistake in the number given of the kings who reigned in this period. If we had as clear and reliable an account of these fifty-two kings before Gonanda III, as we have of the kings who succeeded him, we should not have hesitated to give them each an average of sixteen years' reign as we have done to the successors of Gonanda III. and so reduced the alleged period of 1266 years to 832 years. But so far from having any reliable account of these fifty-two kings, the very names of most of them are lost, and we have therefore the bare assertion of Kahlana that fifty-two unknown kings reigned. It

* Mr. Wilson gives 20 years to each reign which is too high an average to lead to a correct conclusion. According to his calculation again, the date of disputes between Buddhists and Brahmans in Kashmira is anterior to the birth of Sakya Sinha, the founder of Buddhism, which is absurd. Lastly, he makes the curious mistake of supposing that the first fifty-two kings of Kashmira, whose names have mostly been lost, were *anterior to Gonanda I*; whereas the following passage from the Rajatarangini clearly shews that the fifty-two kings whose names have mostly been lost were *Gonanda I and his successors* down to Abhimanyu. "No mention is made of fifty-two kings on account of their irreligion. Four of these, Gonanda, &c. are named by Nilamuni; Padma Mihira, following Helaraja, gives an account of eight kings (descendants of Asoka) from Lava; and Srichchhavillaka speaks of five only He writes 'from Asoka to Abhimanyu, five kings have been named out of fifty-two.'"—*Jogesh Chunder Dutt's Translation*. We are much afraid Mr Wilson's Persian authorities led him into these and similar mistakes. If he had faithfully followed the original Sanskrit work he would surely have avoided them.

is more than probable therefore that, in reckoning this number, weak princes who reigned for short periods have not been included and that the actual number of kings who reigned before Gonanda III. was over fifty-two. That this is likely, appears from a disagreement between two authorities whom Kalhana quotes in his history. Padmamihira says there were eight kings from Lava to Abhimanyu, while Srichchhavillaka says there were only five. It is clear, therefore, that no reliance can be placed on the number given of the princes who reigned before Gonanda III. It is very likely that the number was over fifty-two, and it is not unlikely therefore that the period covered by these reigns has correctly been described as 1266 years.

Even assuming that only fifty-two princes did reign from Gonanda I to Gonanda III, it is not impossible to suppose that the average of their reigns was twenty-four years, and that they ruled for 1266 years, which is the period given by Kalhana. We cannot therefore be far from the truth if we accept Kalhana's statement that 1266 years elapsed from the reign of Gonanda I, to that of Gonanda III. But we have seen before that Gonanda III began to reign in 6 A. D. It follows, therefore, that Gonanda I reigned, and the heroes of the Kuru war lived, in 1260 B. C. Such is the testimony borne by the history of Kashmira as regards the date of the war of the Kurus.

Thus, then, by the concurrent testimony of all antiquarians and scholars of note who have enquired into the subject, by reasoning based on astronomical, philological and chronological premises, as well as by the evidence afforded by the histories of Magadha and of Kashmira respectively, the date of the war of the Kurus is fixed between the 12th and the 14th century before Christ. This is the date when the Vedic period closed and the Vedas were arranged and compiled, and a new epoch in the history of India was opened. And this, too, is the date from which the history of Kashmira commences. From this date, then, shall we follow Kalhana's history of Kashmira, occasionally alluding to contemporaneous events which transpired in other parts of India.

III.

Gonanda I. then reigned about 1260 B. C. and was the friend of Jarasindhu and the opponent of Krishna. He

invaded Mathura, the capital of Krishna, but was defeated in battle and fell pierced with wounds. The proud heart of Damodara I. brooded over the circumstances of his father's death, and determined to wipe out the disgrace, and he suddenly attacked Krishna in the midst of some nuptial festivities on the banks of the Indus. Krishna, however, was again victorious, and Damodara, like his father, fell on the field of battle. His widow Yasabati was with child, and was raised to the throne. In due time she gave birth to a boy who was named after his grandfather Gonanda. It was in the reign of the boy Gonanda II, that the war of the Kurus was fought, but Gonanda II. was only a boy and could not therefore join either side. Then there is a long blank in the history of Kashmira, and nothing is known of the successors of Gonanda II for several centuries. Indeed the eventful period which elapsed from the war of the Kurus to the rise of Buddhism in India is a blank in the history of Kashmira.

But although this is a blank period in Kashmirian history, it is not a blank in the great story of the progress of the Hindu nation and civilisation. On the contrary, we know with some degree of accuracy, the sort of change which Hindu society underwent during the centuries after the Kuru war. The Khatriyas, or warrior caste, of king Janaka's time, had asserted their equality with Brahmans or priests in learning and in rank, and the successors of Janaka had signalized their prowess by carrying the Aryan banner to the southernmost point of India, as also by fighting the great war subsequently described in the Mahabharata. This activity of the Khatriyas manifested itself no less in bold investigations into philosophy and religion than in wars; and in the Upanishads, composed about this time, very often by Khatriyas, we see the first recorded human attempts to solve those problems of philosophy which ages and centuries after puzzled the thinkers of Greece, Arabia or modern Europe.

But this activity of the Khatriyas appears to have abated after a time, and the Brahmans once more succeeded in assuming, and even monopolizing, that supremacy in thought and learning which the warriors had in vain tried to share with them. In the *Sutra* literature, which was written after the Vedic period, we mark not only the activity of the Brah-

minical intellect, but also that unquestioned supremacy which the priests at last established over the Khatriyas. Not only were philosophy, astronomy, rhetoric, grammar, metre and cognate sciences cultivated by Brahmans with wonderful acuteness and success, but social laws were laid down investing Brahmans with a halo of unapproachable sanctity and glory. Indeed Brahmans appear to have used the power which they had now attained to their best advantage; there was one law for them, another law for others; Brahman offenders were treated with leniency, offenders against Brahmans were punished with tenfold severity; Brahmans alone had the right to expound the Vedas; they alone performed all ceremonies and received gifts from other castes; they monopolised all the highest and most honorable executive and judicial posts under government, and they also enjoyed a practical monopoly of philosophy, science and learning. However much we may admire the genius of the Brahmans of this period; however highly we may esteem their six schools of philosophy, their astronomy, their science and their poetry,—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were originally composed at this period,—we nevertheless cannot help deploring the loss of that equality between man and man which the Khatriyas had vainly attempted to establish, and we deeply regret the civilisation of this period in which the rights of humanity were sacrificed in order to add to the privileges and heighten the dignity of priests and priesthood.

Happily the Khatriyas made another attempt to shake off priestly supremacy and preach the equality of man, and the effect was the rise of that religion which even now, after the lapse of over two thousand years, counts a larger portion of the human race among its followers than either Christianity, or Muhamadanism, or Hinduism, or any other religion. This reaction against priestly supremacy, this second recorded attempt of Khatriyas to proclaim the equality of man is known as the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ.

We need not here retrace the story of the great Sakya Sinha and his religion, which ignored caste inequalities and proclaimed the equality of man and humanity towards all living beings. India listened to the great lesson and benefited by it, and the great religious revolution evoked a social and a political change. Extension of ideas had its effect

on the political economy of India, and the supremacy of king Asoka and of the Buddhist religion over all northern India, in the third century before Christ, was only an effect of the great lessons and the enlarged views which Sakya Sinha had preached to the world. For two or three centuries more Buddhism remained the dominant religion in India, after which it gradually gave place to that Brahmanism and priestly supremacy which prevails to the present day. Let us, then, turn to the history of Kashmira and see whether we discover here that contention between Brahmanism and Buddhism which shook all India for centuries before and after the birth of Christ.

After the long blank which we have spoken of above, we come to a line of eight kings, from Lava to Sachinara, of whom Kalhana has very little to say. Sachinara was succeeded by Asoka, who was the fifth prince before Gonanda III. and who, therefore, according to our calculation, reigned in the first century before Christ. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion in India; and Kalhana tells us that Asoka himself was a Buddhist and a truthful and a spotless king, and built many Buddhist stupas on the banks of the Bitasta (Jhelum.) He also built a *chaitya* so high that its top could not be seen, and he founded the city of Srinagar which exists to the present day. He also, according to Kalhana, pulled down the wall of an old Hindu temple and built a new wall to it; and the writer of the Ayin Akbari is therefore probably right in saying that Asoka "abolished the Brahminical rites and substituted those of Jaina."* There can be no doubt, therefore, that the dispute between Brahmans and Buddhists had commenced before the time of Asoka, and that in the first century before Christ Buddhism was the prevailing religion in Kashmira, as elsewhere in India.

The death of Asoka appears to have been a serious loss to Buddhism in Kashmira, for his successor Jaloka appears to have been a Hindu and a Saiva. He was a powerful king and drove back the *Mlechchhas* (Scythians?) who had overrun Kashmira during the lifetime of his father and he extended his conquests to the eastern side to Kanouj. This conquest of one of the great centres of Brahmanism by a prince of Kashmira "possibly marks† the introduction of

* H. H. Wilson, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV.

† Ibid.

the Brahmanical creed in its more perfect form into the kingdom" of Kashmira. Kalhana informs us that from Kanouj, Jaloka carried to his kingdom some men of each of the four castes who were versed in law and religion, (Brahmanical of course,) that he created new offices after the orthodox method, that he established eighteen places of worship, and used to hear the Nandi Purana recited. The triumph of Brahmanism seemed to be complete, but the Buddhists did not lose heart, and their attempts to win over the king have been thus handed down by tradition in the shape of a tale. We quote from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation—

"It is narrated of this king that one day, when he was going to the temple of Vijayeshvara, he met a woman in the way who asked him for some food, and when he promised her whatever food she wanted, she changed herself into some deformed shape and asked for human flesh. Unwilling to kill any one to satisfy her unnatural appetite, he permitted her to take off what she liked from his own body. This heroic self-devotion seemed to move her, and she remarked, that for his tender regard for the life of others she considered him a second Buddha. The king, being a follower of Shiva, did not know Buddha, and asked her who Buddha was, whom she took him to be. She then unfolded her mission and said, that on the other side of the hill of Lokaloka, where the sun never shone, there lived a tribe of Krittika who were the followers of Buddha. 'This tribe,' she continued with the eloquence of a missionary, 'were never angry even with those who did them injury, forgave them that trespassed against them, and even did them good. They taught truth and wisdom to all, and were willing to dispel the darkness of ignorance that covered the earth. But this people,' she added, 'you have injured. There was a monastery belonging to us in which the beating of drums once disturbed your sleep, and incited by the advice of wicked men, you have destroyed the monastery. The angry Buddhists sent me to murder you, but our high priest interfered; he told me that you were a powerful monarch, against whom we would not be able to cope. He said that if you would listen to me, and built a monastery with your gold, you would atone for the sins of which you are guilty in destroying the former one. Here I came, therefore and tested

There is yet another fact about Kanishka which we wish to mention before we proceed further with our story. Indian writers have carefully concealed the fact of foreign immigrations and conquests in India though we know such things have taken place. The present instance is a case in point. Kalhana suppresses the fact that Kanishka was a foreign invader. We learn from the Chinese historians however that he belonged to the Gushan tribe of the Yuei-Chi, who came originally from the borders of China. We learn from Hieun Tsiang that tributary princes from China sent hostages to him, and that the town where the hostages resided was called Chinapati. Chinese fruits were imported into India with the influx of the Chinese, and the peach and the pear,—previously unknown in India—came to be known as the Chinani and the China-rajaputra. We must proceed however with our story.

The fifth king after Gonanda III. was Nara I, who "burnt thousands and thousands of monasteries and gave to the Brahmans who dwelt at Madhyamata the villages that supported those monasteries." The reason assigned for this conduct is, that a Buddhist had eloped with the king's wife; but this seems unlikely and false, and has apparently been got up by later Brahmans to blacken the character of the Buddhists. The real cause seems to be, that, in the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the former had now gained complete ascendency, and the gradual extinction of Buddhism in Kashmira was only a question of time.

The fifth king after Nara I. was Mukula, in whose reign *Mlechchhas* (Scythians?) once more overran Kashmira. His successor, Mihirakula, is described as a powerful but cruel king, and is said to have invaded and conquered Ceylon and then returned through Chola, Karnata, Nata and other kingdoms. Gopaditya was the sixth king after Mihirakula, and he bestowed many villages on Brahmans, expelled from his country irreligious Brahmans who used to eat garlic, brought purer Brahmans from foreign countries, and forbade the slaughter of animals except for religious purposes. Brahmanism in Kashmira, as elsewhere in India, was apparently assuming its most rigid shape after its triumph over Buddhism; priests invented new laws and prohibitions to enslave a superstitious people; thought and culture were prohibited to all except Brahmans, apparently to prevent any future reaction against Brahman supremacy; gods and religious

rites and superstitious observances were multiplied by a number of modern Puranas, written by astute priests, but prudently ascribed to the great Vyasa the compiler of the Vedas, and the unhealthy and demoralizing religion, Puranism, fast reared its head over the ashes of Buddhism. The nation which had once dared to question the supremacy of Brahmans and Brahmanism was now shackled by its chains, once and for ever.

Three kings reigned after Gopaditya, after which Pratapaditya began a new dynasty in the year 342 A. D. according to our calculation. A severe famine visited Kashmira in the reign of Tunjina I, the grandson of Pratapaditya and the son and successor of Jalauka, in consequence of the *sali* grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. The king died childless, and Vijaya, of a different family, succeeded him. Jayendra, his son, reigned after him, and after him his minister, Sandhimati, became king, but resigned the high office in favour of Meghabahana, a descendant from the older royal dynasty of Gonanda III.

Meghabahana, who ascended the throne in 438 A. D. according to our calculation, seemed to have been favorably inclined towards Buddhism, and his queens built numerous Buddhist monasteries in the kingdom. Following the Buddhist doctrines, the king not only prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom, but is said to have "carried his arms to the sea, and even to Ceylon, making the subdued kings promise not to kill animals." Meghabahana was succeeded by his son, Shreshtasena, and his son, Hiranya, succeeded him.

After the death of Hiranya, a foreigner, Matrigupta, obtained the kingdom of Kashmira by the help of Bikramaditya, king of Ojein. This was probably the great Bikramaditya of Ojein in whose reign the poet Kalidasa lived (5th century A. D.), but the historian of Kashmira mistakes him for Bikramaditya, the foe of the Sakas, who lived in the first century before Christ.* Matrigupta was a courtier of

* This is the one great reason of the confusion of Kalhana's dates. His dates are quite reliable from his own time 1148 A. D. to the reign of Durlabhabardhana 598 A. D. Only six kings ruled between Durlabhabardhana and Matrigupta; and, as Kalhana believed Matrigupta to be contemporaneous with Bikramaditya of the Saka era, *i. e.* of the first century before Christ, he makes these six kings reign over the whole of the intermediate six centuries! Hence Kalhana's dates are perfectly useless for the period anterior to 598 A. D.

Bikramaditya, and was rewarded by him with the kingdom of Kashmira; and the people of Kashmira accepted the king sent to them by the renowned king of Ojein.

In the meantime Pravarasena, the nephew of the late king Hiranya, and the rightful heir of Kashmira, marched against Bikramaditya, who had usurped his heritage and bestowed it on a stranger. Bikramaditya died about this time, and his protegé, Matrigupta, resigned in grief, and Pravarasena, therefore, easily got back the kingdom of his uncle. He was a powerful prince and defeated the people of Saurastra (near Surat), and seven times defeated Siladitya, the successor of Bikramaditya of Ojein, and brought away from that place the ancient throne of Kashmira, which Bikrámaditya appears to have taken away from Kashmira. His son, Yudhisthira II., and grandson, Narendraditya, succeeded him in their turns, and the latter was succeeded by his brother, Ranaditya. Bikramaditya, the son of Ranaditya, was a powerful king, and so was his brother and successor, Baladitya, with whom the dynasty ended. Baladitya died 598 A. D. and his son-in-law Durlabhabardhana, of Kayastha caste, began a new dynasty. From this date; 598 A. D., we can rely on Kalhana's dates.

V.

We have now arrived at the close of the sixth century of the Christian era, when Brahmanism had once more asserted its supremacy over the length and breadth of India. Buddhism had not yet entirely disappeared; and, indeed, it did not entirely disappear from Benares, Magadha and other places till after the Mahomedan conquest. Nevertheless it was everywhere on the wane, and Buddhist monasteries were everywhere outnumbered by Hindu temples. We have a valuable and graphic account of the India of this period from the pen of the Chinese traveller, Hiouen Sang, just as we have a good accouut of the Hindu civilization of the third century before Christ from Greek visitors. Hiouen Sang came into India in 629 A. D., and saw the great continent divided into 138 kingdoms and principalities of which he personally visited 110. Among other places he describes Kashmira, Mathura, Kanouj, Benares, Magadha, Burdwan, Assam, Tumlook, Orissa, Drabir, Maharashtra and Ojein, and almost everywhere deplores the decadence of Buddhism.

Siladitya, the king of Kanouj, was the most powerful potentate in India at the time, and had made all the other princes recognize his supremacy. The trade from Tumlook in Bengal to Ceylon was brisk, and numerous vessels crossed and recrossed the sea. Magadha and Ojein are described as the two kingdoms in which learning was cultivated and encouraged with the greatest assiduity, while the Maharattas are described as a powerful race who had defied even Siladitya of Kanouj, who were bráve in war, generous towards dependents, fair towards enemies, and altogether the most warlike and determined race in India. But we must return from these interesting and almost invaluable details to the story of Kashmira.

Durlabhabardhana was succeeded by his son Durlabhaka, in 634 A. D., and his son Chandrapira, succeeded in 684 A. D. Chandrapira was murdered by his brother Tarapira, who employed some Brahmans to do this foul deed, in 693, but the impious brother, after a short reign of four years, himself fell a victim to the intrigue of Brahmans and was murdered. His brother Lalitaditya succeeded in 697 A. D. and was a powerful and warlike king, and set out on an expedition to subdue the continent. He subdued Kanyakubja, and Bhababhuti, the greatest dramatic poet of India after Kalidasa, came over to the court of the conqueror. He then proceeded on his march of conquest through Kalinga, Goura, and along the Bay of Bengal to Karnata, which was at that time governed by a powerful queen. She submitted to Lalitaditya, who is said to have then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to another." Then the king turned northwards, crossed the Vindya and entered Avanti.

Some hard fighting followed, when the king tried to subdue the hardy races and kings of the country now called Rajputana, after which the king returned to his country. He built numerous edifices, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical, and his queens and ministers followed his example. In the end the king appears to have lost his life in attempting to penetrate the Himalayas to conquer the unknown North.

Kubalayapira succeeded his father in 733 A. D., but had to resign in favour of his more powerful brother Bajraditya who reigned from 734 to 741 A. D. We read that "this luxurious king had many females in his zenana. He sold many people to the Mlechchhas and introduced their evil habits." Who are these Mlechchhas, with their luxurious and evil habits, and their custom of buying slaves in India,

of whom we now hear for the first time? The dates at once shew that they were Muhammad Kasim, the first Mahomedan invader of India and his successors, who kept possession of Scinde from 711 to 750 A. D. The passage above quoted, then, is the first mention of Mahomedans in the history of Kashmira, unless some of the victories of Lalitaditya, of which we have spoken in the last paragraph, were victories over the Mahomedans of Scinde.*

Prithivyapira reigned for four years, and Sangramapira for seven days, after which the powerful Jayapira ascended the throne in 745 and reigned for thirty-one years. He was a great patron of learning, invited men of genius to his court, and employed learned men in collecting the fragments of Patanjali's, Commentary on Katyana's Notes on Panini's grammar. These are the greatest grammarians of India, and we know from the above passage that they must have lived long before the eighth century of the Christian era. Jayapira travelled out of his kingdom in disguise to Gour, there married the king's daughter, and, returning to his country, vanquished and killed his rebellious brother-in-law, who had usurped Kashmira in his absence. Soon after he again set out for conquest. In the kingdom of Bhimsena, and again in Nepal, he was beaten and imprisoned, but on both occasions he managed to escape and to triumph over his enemies in the end.

Returning to his country, Jayapira followed the advice of Kayastha ministers and financiers, and so offended the Brahmans, who (being the historians of Kashmira) have not failed to heap abuse on him. The following account of the death of Jayapira, which we take from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's

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* Thus we are told that Lalitaditya, after crossing over to the north of the Vindya mountains, "thrice defeated Dassani and subdued him. He then conquered the Bouttas, in whose naturally pale faces no further sign of anxiety was visible. He also conquered Darad." Dussani is not improbably a corruption of a Mahomedan name, while the pale-faced race may have been the fair countrymen of Mahomed Kasim. Then again we read that "to mark his conquests he (Lalitaditya) obliged other kings to were a symbol of subjection, which they bear to this day. The Turashkas commemorate the fact of their being bound, by generally clasping both their hands behind their backs and shaving the front part of their heads" Who were the Turashkas subdued by Lalitaditya unless they were the Mahomedan Turks of Scinde? Lastly, we are told, that the "king of the sandy Sindhu sent a messenger to beguile the king of Kashmira and so make him and his men perish in the desert; but that the king overcame all obstacles and "defeated the wily king of Sindhu," and devastated his country.

translation, will give a good idea of the insolence and pride of the Brahmans, as well as of the manner in which they fabricated stories and interwove them with history in order to preserve their supremacy and glorify their power.

"The Brahmanas who dwelt at Tulamula, once came to say something to the king, but were struck in his presence by his door-keeper, and consequently were very angry. 'Brahmanas were never insulted before, even in the presence of Manu, Mandhata, Rama and other great kings;' they said, 'and when angry they can destroy in a moment the heaven with Indra, the earth with her mountains, and the nether world with its Nagâ-chief.' The king, who would not ask for advice, and was deserted by his feudatory kings, replied with supercilious pride: 'You cunning people who eat by begging, what pride is this of yours that you pretend to do what the Rishis did.' The Brahmanas were cowed down by his frown, but one Iitti thus replied :—'We conduct ourselves according to the times; as you are a king, even so we are Rishis.' The king scornfully enquired : 'Art thou the great Rishi, Vishvamitra, or Vashishta, or Agastha?' And, as if flaming with anger, the other replied, 'If you be Harishchandra, Trishanku or Nahusha, then I am one of those you mention. The king then answered with a smile, 'The curse of Vishvamitra and others destroyed Harishchandra, &c., what will your anger effect?' The Brahmana struck the earth with his hand and said, 'Will not my anger bring down Brahmadanda on thee?' Then said the angry king, 'Let fall the Brahmadanda, why delay it longer?' 'O cruel man! there it falls.' And no sooner had Iitti said so, than a golden bar from the canopy fell on the king. The wound degenerated into erysipelatous inflammation, and insects generated on the suppuration. He suffered great pain, the sample of what he would have to suffer in hell. After five nights, he who had courted danger, died."

His son, Lalitapira, reigned for twelve years and was succeeded by his half-brother, Sangramapira, who reigned till 795 A. D. On his death, Chippatajayapira, the son of Lalitapira by a concubine, was raised to the throne, and the five brothers of this woman shared all the ruling power among themselves. They and their sons successively set up three more kings on the throne, after which Avantivarma, the grandson of one of these brothers, ascended the throne, and thus commenced a new dynasty in 855 A. D.

It is in the reign of Avantivarma that we first read an account of the country being improved by drainage and irrigation operations, and Suyya was the great engineer who performed this work. He was of low birth, and, as usual, his attempts have been somewhat grotesquely described; but, nevertheless, our readers will not fail to observe from the following passage that Kashmira was greatly benefited by the industry and intellect of this great man. We quote from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

"One day, when some people were grieving on account of the recent floods, he, Suyya, remarked that he had intellect, but not money, and he could therefore give no redress. This speech was reported to the king by his spies, and the king wondered and caused him to be brought before him. The king asked him as to what he had said. He fearlessly repeated that he had intellect but no money. The courtiers pronounced him to be mad; but the king, in order to try his intellect, placed all his wealth at the disposal of this man. Suyya took out many vessels filled with dinnaras, but went by boat to Madava. There in the village named Nandaka, which was under water, he threw a pot of dinnaras, and returned. Although the courtiers pronounced him to be undoubtedly mad, the king heard of his work, and enquired as to what he did afterwards. At Yakshadara in Kramarajya he began to throw dinnaras by handfuls into the water. The Vitasta was there obstructed by rocks which had fallen into its bed from both its rocky banks; and the villagers who were suffering from scarcity, began to search for the dinnaras, and in so doing removed the rocks which were in the bed of the river, and cleared the passage of the water. No sooner had the water flowed out than Suyya raised a stone embankment along the Vitasta, which was completed within seven days. He then cleared the bed of the river, and then broke down the embankments. The passage was now quite open, and the river flowed easily and rapidly towards the sea, as if anxiously and eagerly, after this long detention; and consequently the land again appeared above the waters. He then cut new canals from the Vitasta wherever he thought that the course of the river had been obstructed. Thus many streams issued out of one main river, even like the several heads of a serpent from one trunk. Sindhu which flowed from Trigrama to the left, and Vitasta on the right, were made to meet one another at Vainyasvami. And even to this day the

junction made by Suyya, near this town, exists; as also the two gods Vishnusvami and Vainyasvami at Phalapura and Parihasapura situated on either side of the junction; and the god Hrishikesha whom Suyya worshipped, just at the junction. And to this day may also be seen the trees which grew on the banks of the river as it flowed before, distinguished by marks of ropes by which boats were tied to them. Thus Suyya diverted the course of rivers. He raised a stone embankment seven *yojanas* in length; and thereby brought the waters of the Mahapadma lake under control. He joined the waters of the lake Mahapadma with those of the Vitasta, and built many populous villages after having rescued the land from the waters. * * He examined several places and irrigated many villages (the produce of which did not depend on rain) by means of artificial canals cut from the Chanula and other rivers until the whole country became beautiful. Thus Suyya benefited the country such as even Kashyapa and Valadeva had not done."

Avantivarma died in 883, the first Vaishnava king that we read of. Vaishnavism and Saktaism are later phases of Hinduism than Shaivaism, and in the history of Kashmira we scarcely hear anything of Vaishnaism till the present time.

His successor Sankaravarma, was a great conqueror and conquered Guzerat. Returning to his country, he listened to the advice of his Kayastha financiers and imposed taxes on the people which made him unpopular with them, or at any rate, with the offended Brahmans who narrate his history. He conquered many hill places on the banks of the Indus and was at last killed by the arrow of a hunter. Surendravati and two other queens perished with him on the pyre, 902 A. D.

In the short reign of his successor Gopalavarma, the minister Prabhakara (who was a favorite of the queen mother Sugandha), defeated "the reigning Shahi" because he had disobeyed his orders to build a town in "Shahirajya." This seems to have been some petty dependent or tributary king, and we shall hereafter read more of the "Shahirajya."

Gopalavarma's brother, Sankata, dying ten days after the former, their mother Sugandha a dissolute woman, reigned for two years by the help of the Ekangas. The Tantri infantry, however, raised Partha to the throne; a civil war ensued, the Ekangas were beaten and the queen Sugandha killed, 906 A. D. The Tantris, being now supreme, set up one

king after another, according as they were bribed and courted, until Chakravarma with the help of the Damaras and Ekangas at last broke their power in 935 A. D., and for the third time ascended the throne. Within two years he was assassinated by some Damaras and was succeeded by Partha's son, Unmattavanti. This young man killed his father, but died soon after, and his successor Suravarma was the last of this unfortunate dynasty which ended in 939 A. D.

Yasaskara, the first king of the new dynasty, was the son of Prabhakara, who had been minister of Gopalavarma of the preceding dynasty, and was famed for his justice; but in the very year of his death Purbagupta murdered his son, Sangarma, and founded a new dynasty. His son, Kshemagupta, inherited the vices and dissolute habits of his father and reigned eight years. His son Abhimanya, was the only virtuous and worthy king of the line, and reigned fourteen years; and on his death his mother, Diddá (widow of Kshemagupta), successively murdered three infant kings (her grandsons), Nandigupta, Tribhubanagupta and Bhimagupta, and became queen in 980 A. D. She reigned for 23 years, and in her reign her favorite, Tunga, defeated the king of Rajapuri.

Didda's nephew, Kshamapati, ascended the throne in 1003 A. D. and reigned till 1028 A. D. Tunga, who had been the favorite of Didda, was all powerful during the reign of her nephew, and went out with a Kashmirian army and Rajput and other subsidiary forces to help the Shahi king against the attack of the Turashkas. We shall quote Kalhana's account of the event from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation:

"The Kashmirians crossed the river Toushi, and destroyed the detachment of soldiers sent by Hammira to reconnotire. But though the Kashmirians were eager for the fight, the wise Shahi repeatedly advised them to take shelter behind the rock, but Tungga disregarded the advice, for all advice is vain when one is doomed to destruction. The general of the Turks was well versed in the tactics of war and brought out his army early in the morning. On this the army of Tungga immediately dispersed, but the troops of the Shahi fought for a while."

The heroism of the Shahi king, however, was unavailing he was beaten, and his kingdom was destroyed for ever.

Now who was this Hammira (a Mahomedan name apparently) and who were these powerful Turashkas who defeated the Kashmirians and the Rajputs and annexed the "Shabirajya," an ally or dependent of Kashmira? The dates show at once that Kalhana is speaking of the invasion of India by the invincible Mahmud of Ghuzni.*

Tunga was soon after murdered, and Nandimukha was sent with another army against the Turashkas, but they, too, fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Hariraja succeeded his father, Kshamapati, and reigned only for 22 days, after which his brother, Ananta Deva, ascended the throne and reigned 35 years, *i. e.* from 1028 to 1063 A. D. We read that in this reign one Brahmaraja combined with seven Mlechchha kings and entered Kashmira, but was beaten back by Rudrapala, the powerful Kashmirian general. When we remember that, from the time of Mahmud of Ghuzni, a part of the Punjab always remained under Mahommedan rule, we are at no loss to guess who these seven Mlechchhas were.

After a long reign of 35 years Ananta was prevailed upon by his queen to resign in favour of his son Ranaditya; but the prince was unworthy of their confidence, and shocked his parents and all men by his excesses of wickedness, folly and dissipation. Disheartened at this conduct of their son, the aged parents retired to Bijayeswara and passed their days in devotion, but even there they were not allowed to enjoy repose. Harassed by the enmity of this ungrateful son, Ananta at last committed suicide, and his widow ascended the funeral pyre.

The ingratitude of Ranaditya towards his father was punished by the misconduct of his son, Harsha, who rose in rebellion. Ranaditya died in 1089 A. D., a victim to his dissolute habits; his son Utkarsha succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler and more popular brother, Harsha, and committed suicide. Bijayamalla, who had helped his brother Harsha to the throne, now thirsted for the kingdom himself, but the fraternal war finally came to an end by the accidental death of Bijaymalla.

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* Hammira was therefore either a general of Mahmud, or was the great conqueror himself, "well versed" indeed "in the tactics of war"! The letters *r* and *d* are interchangeable; and if we eliminate the first syllable of Mahammud, we get the Sanscritized name Hammira.

Harsha s powerful general, Kandarpa, subdued the king of Rajapuri, but at last retired from the court in disgust at the growing jealousy of the king. Harsha subsequently attempted to subdue Rajapuri and Darad respectively but failed in both his attempts. His excessive taxation and his oppression over the Damaras made them rise in rebellion; and they had powerful chiefs in two brothers Uchchala and Sussala. Uchchala defeated the Lord of Mandala, but was subsequently beaten by the royal army.

His brother Sussala defeated the royal commander Manikya, broke through all opposition and defeated the Lord of Mandala, but was at last beaten by Bhoja, the son of king Harsha. At last Uchchala defeated Harsha and his son Bhoja in a signal battle, burnt the capital and became king. The unfortunate Harsha retired to the tent of a hermit, but was there traced out and killed, 1101 A. D.

We have only one more remark to make of Harsha's reign. Allusions to Turashkas and their kingdom become more frequent now than ever before. Thus we are told that Harsha had a hundred Turashka chiefs under his pay; that, after besieging Rajapuri, he fled back to his kingdom through fear of the Turashka who, he heard, were approaching; and, lastly, that his oppressed subjects left their homes and went to the country of the Mlechchhas. Who are these Turashkas and what was their country of which we find such frequent mention during the reign of Harsha? The dates of Harsha's reign shew at once that there was good reason for such frequent allusion to the rising Turashka power, for it was during Harsha's reign that Shahabuddin Mahommed Ghori conquered Delhi, Kanouj, and the whole of northern India, and Hindu independence was lost once and for ever. Here appropriately ends Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

VI.

Thus we have traced the history of Kashmira from the earliest times to the date of the final conquest of India by the Mahomedans. We have refrained from making any remarks on the value of Kalhana's great work, because the above brief resumé of it is the best commentary on its great value. We have seen how every great social or religious revolution, and every great historical event which transpired in India, have left their impress on the history of this secluded province. The history of this province has borne its testimony

towards fixing the date of the great Kuru war; it has helped us to understand how Buddhism was a protest against caste distinctions, and a Khatrya assertion of the equality of all men; it has revealed to us how Buddhism was for a time the accepted faith of the kings and peoples of India, and how, after the commencement of the Christian era, it began to decline under the renewed exertions of Brahmans to assert their supremacy and revive their old religion. In the history of Kashmira we find evidences of the dates of the two great dramatic poets of India, *viz*, Kalidasa and Bhababhuti; in it we find allusions to the first Mahomedan invasion of India under the renowned Mahommed Kasim; in it we read of that "General of the Turashkas" "well versed in the tactics of war," the invincible Mahmud of Ghuzni, before whom the Kashmirian army twice recoiled in dismay and disorder; and, lastly, in this history we read of the rising power and kingdom of the Turashka at the end of the eleventh century, when Delhi and Kanouj and all Northern India fell under the power of the followers of the prophet.

Such are some of the facts we learn from Kalhana's history of Kashmira, and, considering the poverty of historical records in India, the value of this record can scarcely be overestimated. It is a matter of regret and surprise, therefore, that Kalhana's work had hitherto not been translated into English. The only account in English we had of it is the brief essay of H. H. Wilson in the XVth volume of the "Asiatic Researches," in which he gives a short resumé of the Sanskrit work. That resumé, however, is mixed up with facts gleaned from Mahomedan historians, and is besides incomplete. Kalhana's Sanskrit work comes down to 1148 A. D., and is continued by a series of writers to the date of the conquest of Kashmira by Akbar in the sixteenth century. Mr. Wilson's brief resumé comes down only to the reign of Didda Rani, ending in 1003 A. D.

Such being the case, we hail with delight Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's attempt—the first that has been hitherto made—to give a faithful and complete translation of the great Sanskrit work. He has already brought down the story to 1101 A. D. as we have seen; and intends to give us the remaining 47 years of Kalhana's history (which short period, being in the writer's own time, has been narrated at great length) in a second volume. The third and last volume of the translator will include the continuation

by the other writers, and will thus bring down the story to the date of the conquest of Kashmira by Akbar. Such is the intention of the translator, and, though he distinctly states in his preface that he can hold out no promise, we sincerely hope he may succeed in carrying out his intention, and thereby make an important contribution towards the study of Indian history and antiquities.

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BOOK VII.

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List of Kings of Kashmíra.—Book VIII.

Name.	Kali.	Saka (after).	Loukika.	A.D.	Period of reign.
Uchchala	4202	1023	XXXVI. 77	1101	10 years, 4 months and 1 day.
Roḍḍa *alias* Saṁkharāja	4212	1033	XXXVI. 87	1111	One prahara of night and one prahara of day.
Salhaṇa	4212	1033	XXXVI. 87	1111	3 months and 27 days.
Sussala	4213	1034	XXXVI. 88	1112	
Bhikṣhāchara ...	4221	1042	XXXVI. 96	1120	6 months and 12 days.
Sussala (second time)...	4222	1043	XXXVI. 97	1121	15 years, 3 months and 14 days.
Siṃhadeva	4228	1049	XXXVII. 3	1127	Kahlana's account closes at the 22nd year of this reign.

KINGS OF KÁSHMÍRA.

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BOOK VIII.

[Invocation as usual.]

For sometime the favors and frowns of the new king lay hid in him as the nectar and the poison lay hid in the sea before it was churned. His brother and the Ḍāmaras excited him, even as contrary winds excite the clouds. His brother in his pride of youth did whatever he liked, and his wicked acts were painful to the affectionate king. Constantly riding an elephant with drawn sword, he, like the sun, drank dry the juice of the fruitful earth. One day he advised the king to destroy by fire all the Ḍāmaras who had assembled together, but the kind king did not listen to him.

This time the king was in a great dilemma. His ministers and petty chieftains acted like highwaymen, his brother wished a civil war in the kingdom, and his treasury was empty. He honored his brother by bestowing on him the government of Lohara, and sent him to that province. His brother took with him elephants, arms, infantry, cavalry, treasures and ministers, and the king,

out of his love to his brother, did not prevent him from taking all these. Dreading opposition from the officers of the fort at the time of his entrance, Uchchala took with him Pratápa, son of Tatkarṣha, and said to them that he would make Pratāpa king, and would act as his Pratīhāra. When the other petty chiefs heard this, they remained submissive. The party were detained for seven days on the way, and during this time Kanaka found an opportunity to escape; he fled out of the country, and feeling disgusted with the world, committed suicide at Benares. Thus of all the servants of Harṣha, he proved his gratitude.

The king remembered the benefits he had received from the robbers, and through his generosity allowed them to gain ascendency, even as the sandal tree harbours snakes. At this time Janakachandra acted with such pride that the king and the Ḍāmaras seemed devoid of glory, even like roads devoid of light. Now Vibhavamatī, queen of Bhoja, son of Harṣha, and daughter of Abhaya king of Urasā, had a son by Bhoja. Two or three children having died before, this child was named by the elders who wished it a long life, Bhikṣhāchara which was an improper name. The child was then only two years old, but being the son of an enemy might have been treated with severity. However, the king had spared his life through the intercession of Janakachandra and placed him on the lap of his queen. But it soon appeared to the king that Janakachandra meant either to make the child

a king or to be king himself, and he shaped his policy accordingly. Either led by the hope that Janakachandra, by his energy and impatience, would soon make himself unpopular with the Ḍāmaras, or inspired by a real desire of rewarding him, the king after due deliberation published his intention of bestowing Dvāra on Janakachandra. This displeased Bhīmādeva and all, and when the animosity between Janakachandra and Bhīmādeva became extreme, their dependent servants determined to fight, and the two parties met on a bridge. The king wishing to witness the scene against the advice of his ministers entered a litter. There were Ḍāmaras on both sides, and the scuffle began with a duel but soon became general and hot. In this battle the way over the bridge was destroyed and the king went to the banks of the river. At this time some of the arrows discharged by the partisans of Janakachandra went wizling past the king, grazed his body, and were seen to fix themselves quivering on the pillars of a building. The king's attendants undid the latch of the room and dragged him by force into it. The combatants, in their determination to destroy the enemy, discharged their arrows on the king's litter. In this dreadful scuffle one Arjuna, son of Kálapásha, a follower of Bhīmādeva, pierced the person of Janakachandra who, seeing himself wounded and knowing that the quarrel was originated by the king, began in anger to kick against the door of the house where the king had taken shelter. He could not break the door, and through

fear fled to the north of the bathing place, and Bhīmādeva with his arms ran after him in order to kill him. But the accountant of the house saw the affair from behind a pillar and cut Janakachandra by the sword into two in the middle. On his death, his two younger brothers, Gagga and Saḍḍ, ran to the spot and they too were wounded by the sword by the same man who still remained unseen. A fierce man, who kills a great enemy, like the thunderbolt that smites a tree, does not remain long. Thus on the 2nd of Bhādra of the same year and neither more nor less than three fortnights after the death of Harṣha, Janakachandra was killed. He too wasted away in brooding over his sin of murdering his master who did him good. The king, though inwardly pleased, feigned anger and grief, and hence Bhīmādeva fled. Gagga, however, trusted the king and was sent by him to Lohara to have his wounds healed, but the Ḍāmaras took fright, left their country and fled.

Thus order was slowly restored in the country which Uchchala had got by artifice and had cleared of oppressors. The king who thus obtained peace, felt a desire for conquest, and within a few days drove out the Ḍāmaras and their cavalry from Kramarājya. The king then went to Maḍva and having captured Kaliya and other Ḍāmaras who were against him, impaled them. The king with a strong army attacked within the city, the powerful Ilárája who had gradually possessed himself of a part of the kingdom, and destroyed him.

The king loved Gagga as his own son, probably because the king knew the heart of this man or probably it was owing to friendship which existed between them in their former birth. He was never angry with Gagga even when Gagga did wrong. The king loved his subjects but could not brook even the name of an enemy. He remembered the two good advices which wise Bhímādeva had given him when he commenced to reign. Following the first advice, he used to set out in the morning and would wander through the streets to learn the views of the people. According to the other, he would march even at midnight when he heard of an enemy and put down a revolt. He was patient and wise, and his character was not polluted by bad deeds. The sin of describing the acts of bad kings will be cleansed in describing the good deeds of this king which were like the waters of the Ganges. As the rising sun dispels the darkness which prevents seeing with perfect clearness, so he, yet immature, suppressed those who gave evil advice. Through his judges he caused a search to be made for men who committed religious suicide by starvation. When he heard the cry of the helpless and the oppressed, he never failed to punish the oppressor, even though that oppressor happened to be his own self. When a cry arose on account of the delinquency of an officer, it was soon assuaged by the cries of the delinquent's friends. The king was eager to favor the weak, and while he lived, the powerful dwelt but under the sway of the weak.

The king, as he wandered alone on horseback, heard the people talk of his faults in his hearing but not knowing who he was; whatever these faults were he soon corrected them. No one who came to him to ask went away totally disappointed. Even in his private council he could not desert his servants. He did good to his subjects, his words were sweet, and he was obliging to and beloved of his people. His servants who served him diligently could see him three or four times in the night. He was charitable and rewarded men after short service. When he heard the voice of sorrow of his neighbours, he would leave all other work to assuage their grief, even as a father does to his son. Just at the commencement of a famine, when his servants drawing small pay were beginning to sell their store of gold, he checked the famine. The kind-hearted king prevented thefts in the kingdom and raised the people addicted to stealing, to the post of treasurer and gave them a decent calling. He knew the circumstances of all his subjects through his spies, and his mind was ever busy in trying to find out who deserved riches, and who required protection. He had no desire for wealth and had many other qualities besides those mentioned before. For the maintenance of peace, he punished those who were worthy of punishment, but through fear of sin, he did not confiscate their wealth but caused it to be spent on good works. When he gave alms he would hardly stop without giving a thousand fold of what he had at first intended; and as the beggars were then heard to say,

"give me, give me," so he was also heard to say, "give him, give him." He always spent a part of his time in giving large gifts, nor were his servants seen to share half of the gifts. In mournful ceremonies or in festivities, he would not make gifts like a painted branch of a tree that yields no fruit. But at festivals like the Shivarātri &c, he used to shower riches on his people, even as Indra does the rain at the conjunction of the planets. Even king Harsha did not do as much as this king did, in bestowing betels * in great festivities. He inherited the kingdom with nothing but bricks in the treasury † but his gifts were so large, that the god of gold could not emulate him. He spent his wealth in building and pulling down houses, in buying horses, and though he was a Káshmīrian, his treasures were neither robbed by the thieves nor did he bury them underground. As the soul knows all events by *yoga* and by the means of the five winds, so he, by connecting roads to roads and by display of strength, knew the work of men. To the Bráhmaṇas were assigned meals befitting kings, to the sick, medicines, and to those who had no subsistence to live upon, pay was allowed by the king. On the occasions for the performance of rites for his dead ancestors, at the time of eclipses, and at the ascendency of evil stars, the king gave thousands of cows and horses and gold &c. to the Bráhmaṇas.

* Sign of favor.

† *i. e.* Empty treasury.

He re-built Nandikṣhetra which had been burnt by a destructive fire, and made it more beautiful than it was before. The king who was bent on repairing the delapidated buildings repaired Shríchakradhára, Yogesha and Svayambhú. He set up anew at Parihāsapura, the god Shríparíhāsakeshava which king Harṣha had taken away. He was devoid of cupidity and adorned Tribhuvanasvāmí with the Shukāvalí, described before, which had also been taken out by king Harṣha. He also renewed the most beautiful throne in his kingdom, the same that was brought by Jayāpiḍa but had been burnt by fire during the revolution which led to Harṣha's dethronement.

Jayamatí, though of humble condition before, was now raised by the love of her husband to the high post of queen, a place which she did not abuse. Though of low birth, she became lady-like by her virtues of kindness, sweetness, charity and love for the good. Even the most lovely women, if they obtain the king's affection, behave like demons towards the subjects. King Uchchala however who loved his subjects and was devoid of avarice had for his wealth this one virtue, which stood above his other virtues, that he protected his people from the royal underlings who were murderous, sinful and who robbed others.

Following the wise teaching of history, the king discarded the Kāyasthas. He used to say, that besides spasmodic cholera, cholic, and the disease which ends in sudden death, the Kāyastha officers are the sources of

speedy destruction of the subjects. "Crabs kill their fathers, small bees their mothers, but the ungrateful Kāyasthas, when they become rich, kill all. The Kāyasthas like evil spirits, kill the good man who give them instruction. As the land on which a poisonous tree grows is rendered unapproachable, even so the person under whom a Kāyastha lives and prospers is rendered unapproachable to others." The wicked Kāyasthas were put down by the king at every step by insults, dismissals and imprisonments; the wise king removed even Sahela from his post several times, and clothed him in torn thread cloth in prison. Sometimes as a diversion he clothed them with good dresses or made them run through the files of his servants like Dombha warriors. Who did not laugh at one of them, tall in person, his beard dressed, a turban on his head, a spear in his hand, and his thighs and knees bare. Or at another bound naked to a cart, his head half shaved, and his braid of hairs marked witn Chinese cake (red lead). Spoiled of their honor, they were known by such names as "Shaved head," &c. Some of them were seen wandering, removed from their posts, weak for want of proper food, insufficiently dressed and begging for every thing. Some old men among them began to receive instruction like boys, in the houses of learned Bráhmaṇas, vainly thinking that learning could be easily obtained. Others again begged for food, chanted panegyrics and their children chanted after them, which made the people laugh. Some conciliated others by lending

them their mothers, sisters, daughters and thereby got some work. Some had recourse to astrologers to know their future, and the astrologers were grieved at their prospects. Some were seen emaciated, their faces as dried up as those of ghosts, their hair and beards not oiled and bound in chains which clanged at their feet. It was when they were thus reduced and their pride humbled by the king that he came to know the real state of the kingdom. They took to chanting the Mahábhárata or hymns to the sun &c. and with tears in their eyes recited songs to Durgá. Thus in his reign the ever wicked Kāyasthas were seen to be sinking in great distress at every step. They were unable to win the favor of this king, as they had done of other sovereigns, by presents of large wealth and articles of food. By these wise means the king made powerless these oppressors of the people who had prospered before. One learned man named Shivaratha recited the following line on a Shivarátri night. "As the place of Mahādeva which was burnt was restored to its former grandeur at your command, so let Pañchānanī after having placed Uchchaladeva in the beatitude of emancipation, guard his royal town, and the Kāyasthas and the ministers with their dependants and relations." This man was at once made Chief Superintendent General. Though this man knew not the duties of his post, yet by the purity and nobility of his heart, he conducted the affairs as well as in Satya-yuga. The king visited the Kāyastnas with speedy punishments,

and wise men approved these acts. The administration code did not forbid the punishment even of those Kāyasthas who were possessed of small wealth. For a long time the Kāyasthas suffered and submitted even to capital punishment. But the just king never oppressed the sons or wives or kindreds or friends of those people; he punished only those who deserved punishment.

He checked the wickedness of Loshṭadhara and others who inhabited Karṇejapa by subjecting them to painful work. As a child, when it is born, forgets the desire it had when it was in the womb, so one, when he becomes king, forgets the plans &c., he had before he came to the throne. Before he came to the throne, Uchchala remembered what existed and what did not, but he remembered them during his reign as much as one remembers the events of a former birth. Those whom he had pursued before as guilty were considered by him not guilty, and he shewed his address in doing what was due towards them. It is not likely that the paramour of a bad woman will remember how badly she treated her former husband or that the employer of a bad servant will remember the servant's enmity towards his former master.

The wise king's administrative faculty became gradually developed. Once he thus settled a dispute between a merchant and the plaintiff, which the judges had failed to fathom. A rich man, whose business went wrong, deposited

one lakh of Dínāra with one of his friends, a merchant; and out of this he spent something little by little. After twenty or thirty years had gone, he asked for the remainder of his deposit. But the wicked merchant, intending to appropriate the deposited money, gained time under various pretences. The water of the sea agitated by currents is obtained from the clouds, but a thing deposited with a merchant is never got back again. The trader, who is ready to quarrel in order to appropriate money deposited with him, differs from the tiger only in having a face smoothed with oil, in his power of speech and his humble mien. The cunning of a merchant which is displayed little by little never abandons him till his death. He smiles the smile of friendship even in dispute. Prostitutes, Kāyasthas and big merchants are naturally deceitful, as if they imbibe poison from the instruction of their teachers. The merchant is but a savage, only marked with lines of sandel paste, wearing white cloth and perfumed with incense, and he who trusts him is not free from danger. A merchant who daubs his forehead, eyes, body, the two ears and chest with sandel paste is like a six spotted scorpion that kills one in an instant. A merchant painted white and dark, like fire and smoke, is like gourd fruit which sucks away flesh and blood having the mouth like a needle but a large * stomach. The merchant's false pleas were exhausted, he became

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* This alludes to the process of cupping which used to be performed by a needle and a dried rind of gourd fruit.

angry and his brows became rugged, and he shewed the accounts to the relentless plaintiff. "When you wrote," said he, "'Be it for my good,'* it turned to your evil.' "Here, you O! wise, took six pieces to cross the river, when the bridge on it was broken. When your shoes were torn, you gave one hundred pieces to a cobbler to repair it. When you had a boil in your leg, your female servant took fifty pieces worth of ghee. When the vessel broke and the potter's wife wept, you out of pity gave her Dīnnáras several times; see this entry of three hundred pieces. You bought fish and mice to the value of one hundred pieces and out of affection, gave them to children for feeding a cat. With seven pieces you bought ghee and powdered sáli rice for application to your feet, and you bought ghee for seven hundred pieces at the time of Shráddhapakṣha bath. The ginger and honey which your boy took cost one hundred pieces, but the boy cannot testify to it as he had not then learnt to speak. A perfidious and strong man appeared before you and begged as a mendicant; to refuse was to fight with him, you therefore gave him three hundred pieces. When the great men came, beside other expenses, three hundred pieces were spent in perfumed light, shandámūla and onions." The merchant left out the other expenses, and added up these unreasonable items, and calculated the interest on them. He counted the years, months &c. on his fingers but did not come to an end. Adding up

* The usual form to commence a document.

the capital and interest, he opened his lips and closed his eyes and mildly said.—"Let the amount of deposit and interest be now calculated; and the sum due which was given in confidence will be restored without fraud." The creditor, taking the words of the merchant to be correct, was for a short time satisfied, but he afterwards repented and found that the merchant's words were like a razor steeped in honey. But in lawsuits he could not overcome the merchant whose wickedness made him base; nor could the judges who judged convict him. The judges could not settle the matter and the case was brought before the king. The king judged the case and thus said to the merchant:—"If there be any sum left of the deposited Dinnàras, bring it to me and I will then decide as will appear just." When the Dinnàras were brought, he saw them and thus said to the ministers:—"Do kings coin money in the name of the kings to be? How is it that the Dinnáras deposited in the reign of king Kalasha came to bear my name? The one lakh pieces deposited with the merchant have been gradually spent by him in buying merchandize. Give back to the plaintiff the gains derived from the merchandize which was bought with his money from the time from which it was used. Let the merchant pay the whole interest on one lakh pieces from the day after the date on which the money was deposited." Thus the king acted with strict justice, and sometimes, like king Yashaskara, dispensed justice with

severity. In a suit if there be any doubt, it is wise to forgive, but men who do wrong should be punished. In lawsuit which it was difficult to master, and presented many points for discussion, the king acted with much deliberation. Thus the king's impartial administration became famous. The king was like Manu and was attentive to his subjects.

Friendship does not exist without a cause, nor supremacy without pride, nor chastity in a woman without some censure of neighbours, nor learning without wealth, nor youth without impulsiveness, nor maladministration without a speedy close of the reign. Even such a king as Uchchala began to harass his subjects. Being proud of his nobleness, heroism, intellect and patience, he robbed innumerable men of their honor and life. He too was insulted in return by those honorable men to whom he used harsh words. Men's energy, like that of sleeping serpents, is not known till they are angry. There is none among the many living beings whose body or lineage or character is not open to some blame. Even Brahmā is not faultless, as he is born of lotus which rises out of mud, his color is brown, his head was once cut off, and his fame is polluted by impure acts. Where then can a perfectly faultless person be found? Without paying consideration to this, the king began to publish personal or family faults of his servants. He found out faults in innumerable warriors and had them killed by making them fight with one another. For half a month, during the festivity in honor of Indra, he induced

the assembled warriors to fight by bestowing riches on them, and caused their death in mutual strife. There was no festivity in that time in which the yard of the palace was not drenched with blood, and the voice of lamentation did not arise. The warriors on these festive occasions set out from their houses dancing, but they were brought back by their friends with their bodies cut up. The king was glad and not sorry to see the well-dressed warriors with their black and oily hair and beautiful beards lying dead. The ladies would count those days happy in which their husbands would return from the palace, but remained distrustful till their return. No one could oppose the king. He made some persons accept the post of ministers, and proudly declared that whatever he ordered must be obeyed. The wicked king dispossessed learned men of their estates and several times insulted them. Daṃshaka, lord of Kampana, incurred the king's anger because he was enjoying prosperity; he fled to Vishalāya and was killed by the Khashas. The king had raised Rakkaka, lord of Dvāra, to prosperity; but on seeing the great riches he enjoyed, he deposed him again. Māṇikya, a leader in the king's army, quelled a tumult at Dvāra and was allowed by the king a subsistence at Vijayakṣhetra. The excellent Tilaka and others who were employed at Kampana incurred the king's anger and were not therefore created ministers. The king was pleased with the services of Bhogasena and though he was without follower or a house, the king made him the governor of the Rājasthāna

(palace). He had seen Bhogasena's valor in the battle on the day of Indradvādashī when Gaggachandra, though he had a large army under him, fled from the engagement. The king raised Saḍḍa, Chchhaḍḍa and Byaḍḍāsa, sons of Saḍḍa, a common soldier, to the post of ministers. Tilaka and Janaka sons of Vijayasiṃha, who had been reduced to misery for deserting the king's service were now enrolled as ministers. And who can count how many Yama, Ela, Abhaya, Vaṇa &c., were made lords of Dvāra and other places, and whose prosperity lasted but for short periods. Prashastakalasha and two or three other old men then appeared like worn trees by the side of new saplings. Kandarpa, although he was invited by the king's messengers and was offered a post, refused to accept it, as he saw the intolerent character of the king. The etiquette of the court of Kāshmīra assumed a new aspect in the reign of this new king. The possession of wealth and subjection to fascinating women of ill fame cause even sensible men to walk in evil ways.

Royalty is like Pratatá, a thorny creeper; it destroys family affection and becomes harmful to kinsmen. Sussala, though possessed of wealth of all kinds, planned the usurpation of the kingdom and meditated an attack on his brother. The king heard all of a sudden that his brother had crossed Varāhavártta and had fallen on him with the speed of a hawk. The active king issued out for battle before his opponent could gain a firm footing, and fell on him with his large army and did him much harm.

The younger brother fled towards his quarters, leaving his baggage behind. The king returned with success but heard that his brother had returned on the following day, bent on mischief. By his orders Gaggachandra marched out with a large army to crush the force of Sussala. The battle raged for a long time and innumerable hardy soldiers of Sussala departed to heaven, and assuaged the fatigue of the women in the garden of that place. In this battle Sahadeya and Yudhishṭhira, two Rajputs, paid with their lives the debt of favor they owed to their master. Gagga captured the fleeing horsemen of the enemy who rode on beautiful horses which excited the curiosity even of the king who had many horses. The king marched with his army, quickly pursued his brother towards Kramarājya by the way of Selyapura road. Thus pursued by his elder brother, Sussala with his handful followers entered the country of Darad. The king killed Loshṭaka, the Ḍāmara inhabitant of Selyapura, because he gave passage to Sussala, and entered the city [Selyapura]. When Sussala had gone far away, the king though polluted with sins, did not try to possess the hills of Lohara out of love for his brother. Sussala was married to the pure Meghamañjari, daughter of Vijayapāla. She had lost her father and had been affectionately brought up by her mother's father Kahla, king of Kālindara, as his own child. Such was the power of Sussala that though it was then winter yet his enemies at Lohara could not oppose him. This patient prince after

issuing out of difficult roads and traversing mountains of difficult passages, reached his own territory. It took him many months to go over this way.

This danger over, king Uchchala had other minor difficulties which arose and passed away. Bhīmádeva set up Bhoja, son of the late king Kalasha, and brought Jagaddala, king of Darad, to help them. Sahla, a son of Harṣha and Sañjapāla, brother of Darshanapāla, were in the party. The king of Darad came out to attack Uchchala but the wise king induced him by friendly words to return to his own country. Sahla privately followed the king of Darad, Bhoja retired to his country, but his servant having accepted a bribe betrayed his master, and Bhoja soon received from the king the punishment befitting a robber.

Even Pitthaka, son of Deveshvara, aspired to take possession of a part of the kingdom and revolted with the Ḍāmaras during the absence of the king. Vulgar men become objects of laughter when like thoughtless brutes they are incited by others to run about, and act without any judgment of their own.

Then came one versed in intrigue; his trade was that of an assistant cook, and he said that he was the son of Malla and his name was Rāmala, and that he had been travelling in foreign countries. Many foolish kings who loved revolt assisted him with wealth and rank as he passed through their countries. He entered Káshmíra alone, perspiring with heat. The king's servants knew

him and cut off his nose. And again men saw him following the profession of his caste, walking about as he sold food to the king's soldiers, and they smiled.

Vain are the efforts of the statesmen to rise by their own power, for they cannot do otherwise than what the gods will. The strength of men is aided or repressed by the will of gods, as fire is sometimes inflamed and sometimes extinguished when it is flaming, by wind. Man cannot avoid his fate by flight, as the bird cannot escape the fire burning on his tail. Men who are fated to enjoy certain things cannot be killed either by wound or fire or poison or arms or arrow or by being thrown into a hole or by magic. Bhikṣhāchara, on account of his amour towards Jayamatī, was ordered to be killed. He was by the king's orders taken by the executioners at night to the place of execution. There he was dashed on stone and thrown into the Vitastā. But kind fate landed him on a bank where the trees were waved by the wind. A certain Brāhmaṇa who had some money revived him to life; and thinking that Āsamatī was a relative of Diddā, the daughter of Sāhi, he brought Bhikṣhāchara to Diddā, and wily Diddā took him and sent him to another country and there in the south he lived privately. When Naravarmma, king of Mālava came to know who he was, he instructed him in learning and in arms as his own son. Some say that Jayamatī saved Bhikshāchara by destroying another boy like him, and of his age. When

the king learnt through his spies that Bhikṣhāchara had returned from foreign countries, his affection towards Jayamatī began to abate. But the patient king without disclosing his designs concluded terms with the kings through whose territories Bhikṣhāchara was to come to prevent his entrance into Kāshmīra. Foolish people who do not hide their jealousy for women or their fear of their enemies are imposed upon by others. Some again say, that after Bhikṣhāchara had been killed, Diddā brought a boy like him and caused him to be known by Bhikṣhāchara's name. This report whether true or false was widely believed, and even gods did not suppress the belief. Such facts are more wonderful than what is dreamt in dreams or seen in magic or illusions. The king secretly planned to destroy this man.

In order to destroy a poison-tree another poison-tree grows up, and the star Agasta rises when the waters are muddled in the rainy season. The far seeing Vidhātá takes steps to undo any evil that threatens the universe. At that time was born a son of Sussala who could raise the world from the misery into which it was sinking; and the child was named Jayasiṃha by the king on account of the victories which he gained from the time of the boy's birth. His acts fully sustained the import of his name as Buddha's name of Sarvārthasiddha was sustained by his acts. When the king saw that the foot of the child was marked with the impression of saffron, he forgot his anger towards his brother. That sign in the

child's foot prevented the enmity between its father and uncle and established peace between the two countries.

The king in the name of his deceased father raised a maṭha in the place where his father used to worship; and in the great festival he gave in charity cows, lands, gold, clothes, food, and spent a large amount of money and was like a kalpa tree to all who asked for charity. The other kings were astonished at the presents which he gave to them. The queen Jayamatī, in order to spend on some good purpose the money she had received from her husband when he was well pleased with her, built a maṭha with Vihāra. The king being somewhat short in virtues in his previous birth the maṭha which he built in the name of the child came to be called by the name of "New maṭha." The maṭha which he erected in the name of his sister Svalā in another of his father's places of worship did not attain the celebrity it deserved.

Once when the king was at Kramarājya he went to the mountainous village of Varhaṇachakra in order to see the fire that lights of itself. When he was passing by the road of the village of Kamvaleshvara some armed Chaṇḍāla robbers who lived there, surrounded him. Though they were intent on striking, and though the king's soldiers were few, yet being struck with panic they could not use their arms and so they did not strike. The king lost his way and wandered about with a few followers, and spent a night in a deep cavern. Soon on the morning this bad news reached the camp. From

camp the news slowly reached the capital. The Superintendent of the city was Chhuḍḍa of the family of the hero Kāmadeva and brother of Raḍḍa. He quelled the disturbance in the city by arms, and then entered the palace with his brothers in order to determine what to do. When deliberations were going on as to who should be made king, Saḍḍa a wicked Kāyastha wishing to benefit his own caste people thus addressed him:—"You with your many friends, kinsmen and servants are unconquerable, rule this kingdom without opposition." When thus addressed the wicked man wished to enjoy the kingdom and soon tried to get on the throne. Whoever was conscious of his descent from the line of Shrīyashaskara felt a desire to rule the kingdom. It appears that the wish that was inherent in them was inflamed by the words of an evil friend. They were not inclined to follow the right path, or why should they think of Saḍḍa's evil counsel? The low Saḍḍa was born of the family of Lavata, the porter. Kṣhemadeva's son who held a small appointment behaved harshly like a very desperate and brave man. He stole a golden vase from the palace, and though he was suspected yet, being a grave man, he was not discovered. He kept a small sword, was without a turban, laughed at all and prided himself, and like a prince despised the world. He always moved his fingers, and his notions of Government were cruel. By the words of this man and by their own evil desire, Chhuḍḍa and others aspired to the kingdom, but their desire was destroyed by hearing that the king was alive.

From that time the desire of being king was neither rooted out from their minds, nor was asleep, nor did it find an outlet. The king whose regard for them became unsettled gradually removed them from Government offices, and reduced them to an humble state. The king who was naturally rude in his speech now told them heart-piercing words. In the reign of king Harṣha they lived in the house of their young widow-mother after their father's death. Their neighbour an youthful friend and soldier named Madyāsattaka was suspected with having formed an intrigue with their mother, and they killed him. But the king judged that they had not punished their unchaste mother and cut off her nose, and published this news behind their back; and enquired after them as sons of the "Nose-cut." The king who was like death towards the Kāyasthas had made Saḍḍa the treasurer of the great treasury &c., and prevented him from doing mischief. But oppressed by Saḍḍa's harshness his own accountant told the king that Saḍḍa used to defalcate money from the treasury. The king in anger took away from him his post of Praveshabhāgika and he again drove Raḍḍa and Chhuḍḍa to adopt their former plan.

Intent on killing the king, they sought for an opportunity and joined the wicked minded Haṃsaratha, &c. They had stolen much wealth, they intended to kill the king, but found no opportunity for four or five years. With many men and in many ways and for a long time did they plan, but their counsels were not discovered

through the sins of men. They reported to one another that the king had used hard words, and thus they worked themselves to enmity against the king. With the intention of killing the king they followed him without intermission; secretly covering their breast, sides, back with iron mail.

The king, who could not bear to be separated from Jayamatī, and like a common man did every thing in his power to please her, had now for two years withdrawn his affection from her. Such change of character portends approaching death. Some say, that this was owing to the protection which the queen gave to Bhikṣhāchara, others say, that love, like lightning, is fleeting. The king married Vichchalā, daughter of the king of Vartula, and she became his favourite.

At this time king Saṅgrāmapāla died and his son Somapāla inherited his father's kingdom. The elder who should have got the throne was imprisoned by some conspirators who coronated this prince. This enraged the king of Kāshmīra against Rājapurī. Nevertheless he married his daughter who was like the picture of the meek goddess of fortune, to the great king [of Rājapurī] who was beloved of all his people and was the chief of kings. This was the last festival given by this rich and subject-loving king [of Kāshmīra.] When his son-in-law had gone, he favored the Tantris but being on some account angry with them, he drove away those who had intended to rebel against him. At this time also he was angry with Bhogasena and dismissed him

from the post he held at Dvāra and thus made him his enemy. Bhogasena was a very powerful man; he had subjugated all the Ḍāmaras. He now marched towards Lohara with a view to overcome Sussala. The king's enmity towards Bhogasena was tempered with love, he opposed his march and then blamed him for his conduct at which Bhogasena was angry.

The hero Bhogasena who was formerly the king's friend, when thus insulted, brought again Ruḍḍa, Kaḍḍa and others to an appointed place from which the king did not drive them back. Thus they who were insulted, dismissed from their posts and were evil-minded now met together. The wily Saḍḍa disapproved the confidence which the rebels reposed on Bhogasena, because Bhogasena was a hero and a simple-hearted man. Saḍḍa advised that the king should be killed that very day as otherwise the simple-minded Bhogasena would betray them. Saḍḍa was not wrong in what he said of Bhogasena, for the latter had intended to betray and would have told the king of the existence of a treason, but the king insulted him by proposing to bestow on him the Southern Dvāra, and thus made him adhere to the party of the rebels. When a man's end approaches, he is displeased even with those who instruct him, just as one is displeased with those who awake him from his sleep in winter even when it is day.

The Tantris who were sentinels now retired to their posts, and the rebels joined their own soldiers in the capital. They gave signal to the Chaṇḍālas saying "kil

him whom we shall strike in the night" and led them into an open building. When they were there, the king had taken his meal, and the rebels frightened away the king's servants telling them that the king was very angry. The king urged by love was going to the house of Vijjalā and his way was lighted by a lamp. When he, attended by a few followers, had reached a house in the midway, Saḍḍa surrounded the house behind him, and there killed some men. Others stopped all the doors in the front and surrounded the king with a view to kill him. One of the party, through pride, advanced towards the king and pulled him by the hair. The king was a powerful man and pierced him with his weapon. Then the daggers fell on his golden mein as serpents fall on the peak of Sumerū. The king then cried out "treason," "treason," and by the help of his small weapon undid the hold which they had on his hair, and with his teeth unloosed the stick from their hands. Sujanākara, the servant, who was bearing the king's dagger fled on being struck by the enemies. The king therefore snatched a light knife worthy of a boy and planted the little weapon between the knees of his opponent, and with its help came out with difficulty from his grasp. He retired to a little distanse and bound his loosened hair. The king did not lose his spirit and showed such valor that his foes, struck at vital parts, fell on the ground. The king pierced Raḍḍa who had struck him from behind, and yelling like a lion he turned round and pierced Vyaḍḍa. The king brought down another

soldier who was clad in armour, and he died within a short time and after suffering some agony. Availing himself of this opportunity he ran towards the house in order to gain admission into it, but the gate-keeper did not know him as the king, and closed the door. He then made for another door when Chchhuḍḍa opposed him saying "where do you go?" and struck him with his sword. The king then saw Bhogasena standing at the end of the door with his back turned and scratching the wall with a piece of wood. The king addressed him and said, "I have forgiven Bhogasena why are you then here." He replied, abashed to the fleeing king something indistinctly. Rayyāvaṭṭa, the torch-bearer, who was without weapon, went into the fight with his iron lamp and fell wounded by the rebels. Somapāla, a Rajpoot, son of Champa, was wounded and fell covered with the blows he received. His behaviour was not censurable. Majjaka, a Rajpoot, son of Shurapāla, fled hiding his weapon, like a dog hiding his tail. The king ran towards a wooden fence intending to scale it, but the Chaṇḍālas cut him in the knee and he fell on the ground. One Shṛiṅgāra, a Kāyastha, who was not a rebel, threw himself over the king's body, was severely beaten and was prevented from protecting the king.

The king intended to rise again, but all his enemies struck him with their weapons, and his garland of blue lotus was torn away by kāli.* The low Saḍḍa cut

* A sort of weapon.

him in his neck suspecting that the king was yet alive though he seemed dead. "I am he whom you dismissed from his post," he said, as he cut the king's fingers and snatched the jewel rings. The long-armed king was seen sleeping on the ground, his shoe in one foot, his garland fallen from his head and his face covered. The king's cruelty towards men was atoned by his great valor in his last moments. Shuraja, a royal servant, came out and cried aloud "treason," but he was killed by the angry Bhogasena.

Thus the king perished by the kālī on his way to the appartments of his queen. Kings become restless with enjoyments in their kingdoms as black bees become restless with the pollen of flowers in gardens. Alas! They are then struck by fate, as bees are felled by the wind, and disappear from the sight. Rāvaṇa who conquered the three worlds was at last defeated by monkeys, and Duryyodhana who was superior to innumerable kings received a kick on his head. Thus after enjoying great glory they were insulted like ordinary men. After musing on these things who can say that he is great?

The umbrella-bearers of the king brought the naked body of their master, as of a helpless man, to be burnt. One took upon his shoulder, the hands of the king, another took up in his hands, his legs, his neck broken, his hair hanging, his body besmeared with blood and wounded and uncovered like that of a helpless man.

They soon burnt him on an island in the great river Vitastā. No one saw him die, no one saw him burnt, as if he fled on wings and disappeared. At the time of his death he had completed the age of forty-one. It was in the year 87, in the month of Paushа, on the sixth day of the bright moon.

Raḍḍa clad in armour and holding the sword and besmeared in blood stepped towards the throne as an evil spirit steps on the stones of the burning ground. When he ascended the throne, his powerful and warlike friends and servants prepared themselves for battle. His friends Baṭṭa, Paṭṭa the Tantris fought for a long time and fell at the principal gate of the palace; the warriors Kaṭṭa Sūryya &c., also fell there. The king Raḍḍa with sword and shield killed many of his enemies in fight within the palace. At times his opponents despaired of victory; but Raḍḍa fell in battle after a long struggle and after killing many of his foes. After the murder of his late master Uchchala, Gagga disclaimed wealth and punished Raḍḍa, though dead, as befitted a rebel.

Near Diddāmaṭha Vyaḍḍa's face was submerged in a drain and he was killed by the citizens who threw stones and ashes on him. In several places the rebels were dragged by ropes tied to their ankles and the citizens spat on them as they deserved. Saḍḍa, Haṃsaratha and others fled, to suffer an agony worse than death. The news of Raḍḍa's defeat and the death of his brothers came on Bhogasena like a deluge. He

returned intending to oppose, but seeing the soldiers flee, he was struck with fear and fled to some place, accompanied with a few kindred men. Thus Gargachandra by his own valor either killed or routed the principal men of the rebel party. No where in history have I heard of feats of courage like those of the valorous Garga. One prahara of night and one of day did the rebel Raḍḍa reign and he obtained the title of Shaṃkhaṛarāja. He got the punishment due to the wicked. The rebels proved that they were born of the line of Yashaskara for they reigned for a short time like Varṇaṭadeva. Hunters kill lions &c., by fire and trap; they are themselves killed by the sudden fall of fragments of stone. All go the same way, the way to death, so it is useless to distinguish the murderers from the murdered. Those who hear with pleasure the voice of women proclaiming their happiness at their marriage, listen not long after to their lamentations and voices of wail. He who feels happy at having averted a danger finds other sources of unhappiness not long after. Ignorance is blinding. The rebels thought of violence in the evening, at night the thought was matured into action, and on the next day it brought on misery.

When the work was finished, Garga left the scene of action, his anger was appeased, and he came near the throne and wept long for his master. At this time the citizens had shaken off their fear and found an opportunity to weep for their beloved king. The insincere

Jayamatī wishing to excite pity and in the hope of still living after her husband's death gave wealth to Garga and said, "O brother tell me what I should do." Garga knew her intention and gave her assurance of safety. There is crookedness in the tresses of women, restlessness in their eyes, hardness in their heaving breasts, and no one can fathom their hearts. Women who live in vice, and who even kill their husbands easily enter the fire. No confidence can be placed in women. While she was riding in a conveyance, and loitering in the way, Vichchlā came out first by that time and entered the funeral fire. As she was going up the pile, the people robbed her of her ornaments and thereby hurt her person. The people wept to see the late king's umbrella and chāmara burning and felt as if their eyes were being consumed.

Though all asked Garga to ascend the throne, he did not do so, and thus he held his duty sacred. He intended to set up the infant son of Uchchala to the throne, and enquired after the boy. The people now wondered at the work of those whom they at first had thought unfit even to beg. Mallarāja had by queen Shvetā three sons, Sahlaṇa, &c., of whom the second had died before. Shaṃkharāja (Raḍḍa) had sought to kill the surviving Sahlaṇa and Loṭhana and they fled in fear to the Navamaṭha. Learning that the rebels were dead, the shameless Tantri and cavalry officers consulted together and brought them back. Garga did not see any one else fitted for the kingdom and he anointed Sahlaṇa,

the elder of them. O! that within four praharas of day and night there were three kings. The wicked servants of the king who at evening served Uchchala, and Raḍḍa the next morning, came to Sahlaṇa at noon.

Sussala was at the gate of Lohara when he heard of the death of his brother, a day and a half after the event, and became excessively grieved. The messenger sent by Garga threw himself on the ground weeping and dispelled all doubts as to the truth of the occurrence. From this messenger Sussala did not hear of the accession of Sahlaṇa to the throne, but only learnt the news of his brother's death and received an invitation from Garga. Garga, when he left his house, did not think that he would be able to accomplish the difficult task of putting down the enemies so soon, and had sent a messenger to Sussala asking him to come. Sussala spent that night in weeping, and at dawn he set out towards Kāshmīra without collecting his army. Another messenger from Garga met him on the way, told him all that had happened and asked him not to come. "The rebellion was soon put down and you were not near so your younger brother Sahlaṇa has been made king. Whaṭ is the use of your proceeding?" When he heard this message from Garga he was unable to bear it, and through anger he said with a smile to his servants.—"This is not our ancestral kingdom that our younger brother would possess it. I and my elder got it by the strength of our arms, when we got the kingdom, no one made a gift of it to us; and has the means by which we first got it, now disappeared?"

He said so and stopped and marched with his men and sent many messengers to Garga.

Sussala reached Kāṣhṭavāṭa, and Gargachandra on behalf of Sahlaṇa came out and arrived at Huṣhkapura. When the night approached, men who came and went called Garga a rebel, though he spoke kind words to all. Though the king [Sussala] was very busy with his work, yet he sent Hitahita, son of his nurse, to Garga. Bhogasena devoid of his senses came at this moment to the king accompanied with the Khāshakas inhabitants of Vilvavana. He sent Karṇabhúti, a horseman, to the king and assured him that he would overcome Garga. Without waiting for an opportunity, he searched for a fitting place to kill the rebellious brother and was considered a bad man by the people. Garga rebuked the king through his messengers and asked how he can accept the help of him who rebelled against his brother. Bhogasena had retreated from the road and halted, it being dark. At the end of the night Garga attacked him and killed him and his followers. Karṇabhūti fell a hero gracing the battle with his fall; his step-brother Tejaḥsena did likewise. By the king's [Sahlaṇa's] order the latter was set up on a pale, and the like was also done to Marichi, son of Ashvapati, inhabitant of Lavarājya. On account of the opposition, the king inflicted punishments &c., but his army became too uneasy to remain in order.

Sañjapāla who had preceded king Sussala but, at evening, was left behind, collected many horsemen and joined

the king. On their arrival Sussala's army received some opposition. Garga's general Suvāṣhpa with a large number of troops arrived On seeing them the enemy became eager for fight, and the king, clad in armour, was, by his own men, with difficulty, set up on a horse. The arrows from the enemies covered the sky like locusts and fell on all sides in continued showers. They attacked the whole body of the royal [Sussala's] army. The brave king whose men lay killed and wounded got out alone from amidst the enemies and fled in haste. He fled riding his horse and crossed the roaring and headlong current of the Sindhu without going over the bridge, and got himself out of the range of the arrows. Sañjapāla and one or two more were able to follow him and dispersed those who opposed them at several places. Sussala's enemies gave up the pursuit as he, with twenty or thirty followers, entered Vīrānaka, a town of the Khashas. Without raiment or food, attended with a few followers, he stopped there, and without fear attacked and chastised the Khashas. He fortunately returned to Lohara in time, passing through roads difficult to traverse on account of fall of snow. He faced death at every step but his period of life was not yet ended, and he lived and thought of the means of obtaining Kāshmīra.

Garga became angry with poor Hitahita and threw him into the Vitastā after tying his hands and feet. But Hitahita's servant threw himself into the water just before him, and though he descended down [into the water] he ascended [high in heaven.]

Garga was particularly honored by king Sahlaṇa on his return; for it was he who gave Sahlaṇa a kingdom and destroyed his enemies. The king was without a minister and without valor, and with an unsettled mind he looked on the kingdom as on a wheel turning round him on all sides. He had no policy, no valor, no wiles, no simplicity, no charity, no avarice, nothing predominated in him. During his reign even at noon the thieves would steal things from the people in the capital, what then must they have done to others living outside the town! Even lame persons could violate the chastity of women, while the king, although a man, lost his senses through fear. The kingdom was shared in common by Sahlaṇa and Loṭhana, one reigned on one day and the other the next day. The king understood not the nature of men and when he erred, he was laughed at by the men of state. He employed Ujaḥsurya, father-in-law of Loṭhana, in Dvāra where much valor and sternness were required; but Ujaḥsurya was fit to be among hermits. He said that if he repeated his mantra a hundred thousand times there would remain no more cause of fear from Sussala.

The wicked king, through the orders of Garga, tied a piece of stone to his enemy Vimba, a Nīlāshva Ḍāmara and threw him into the Vitastā. Garga had killed the enemies of the king and the king bestowed favors on him. He killed many Hālāha Ḍāmaras by means of poisoned food. The king was disregarded and the life

and death of all, whether great or low, whether in the capital or without, were at the mercy of Garga.

Once when Garga returned to the king from Lohara, the citizens in the metropolis became anxious and frightened. There arose a rumour that the furious Garga had come to kill all the dependents of the king, on boats by fixing pales. Such a fearful rumour which can cause abortion in women kept all men in a fever of anxiety for two or three days. Tilakasimha and others, therefore, without waiting for the king's orders, attacked Garga's house. The whole country became excited and the people armed themselves and ran to and fro; and Gargachandra was alarmed. The shameless Dilhabhaṭṭāra, Lokkaka and others were seen riding about in the road leading to Garga's house. The king did not prevent them but on the contrary sent Loṭhana to encourage them as they were weak. Loṭhana with his soldiers blocked the road but could not surround Garga's house nor could he burn it by fire. One Kaushava, a good archer and the head of a maṭha at Loṭikāmaṭha, greatly checked Loṭhana's soldiers by killing many of them with iron arrows. When the king's partisans had retired as they had come, Garga set out on horse-back at evening, with his followers and unopposed, he went to Lohara. On his way he captured Ujaḥsurya who was at Tripureshvara suffering from ill health. "But what is the use of arresting this hermit" he said, and he liberated him the next day. Sussala was overcome with anxiety but Garga did not dispossess him of Lohara.

From that place the citizens received at times, rumours of Garga's approach and used to bolt their houses. The weak king was anxious to come to terms with Garga and for that purpose the great Sahela went to Lohara as a messenger. With difficulty Garga was made to promise to bestow his daughter on the king. Peace was then established with Sussala, but the proposed alliance although asked for was never made.

When Garga went to Visharākūta in Maṇdala, the king caused Saḍḍa, Haṃsaratha and Nonaratha to be brought to him by messengers. The wicked king tortured them by sparks of fire and points of needle and left them all but dead. The king determined to dishonor Allā, the widow of Bhogasena, who was, after the death of her husband, leading a pure life and was living privately. He saw the weakness of all around and was only afraid of Dilhabhaṭṭāra and poisoned him. This vicious sovereign was not born of the royal line nor was he powerful, since, he removed persons into his secret manner. Dilhabhaṭṭāra's sister Allā reproached the king for his effeminacy and proudly burnt herself. His reign though of short duration became intolerable owing to these fears, as a night becomes intolerable with bad lengthy dreams.

Sussala understood the signs of the times, and though as yet there was peace, he had misgivings about Garga. He was anxious to come to Kāshmīra but he first sent Sañjapāla. The king had bestowed wealth and Dvāra on Lakkaka who with difficulty reached Barāhamūla,

Garga remembered that it was Lakkaka who had attacked him in his house, he came up to him from behind, destroyed his army and plundered both the soldiers and the place Barāhamūla. Lakkaka fled. Among the dead that lay on the ground and graced it like a garland of pearls were the leaders Rūppachuḍa and others. Their character was good and they were born in good families. On the approach of Sañjapāla, Lakkaka's fear abated and, helpless as he was, he was brought to Sussala.

When Sañjapāla who was approaching Kāshmīra to attack it was yet at a distance, the king was induced by the citizens and the Ḍāmaras to go and meet him. Sahelaka left Salhaṇa promising to establish peace between him and Sussala. The citizens went over to the good king Sussala and eagerly watched his rising power, as the kokila watches the rising cloud. Chhuḍḍā, wife of Garga, came with her two daughters to Sussala to marry them. King Sussala married Rājalakṣhmī, the elder of the two, and married her younger sister Guṇalekhā to his son.

When Sañjapāla came and surrounded Salhaṇa who was with his younger brother, king Sussala came from his court and arrived at the Siṃha gate of the palace. One of the enemy's servants closed the door in Sussala's sight but failed to capture him as he had intended. The enemy with his soldiers was shut up within the palace, but the army of Sussala feared an attack from Garga. They had no confidence in Garga though he had married

his daughter to Sussala; and they remained therefore in constant fear, being alarmed even at the motion of a grass. As the day expired, the army thus stood panic-struck, but Sussala, out of pity for them, burnt down the strong position occupied by the enemy. Sañjapāla entered the palace by moonlight through the straight gate facing the village, and opened the gate and fought with the soldiers who were in the court-yard. Tilaka apprehended that Sañjapāla's death was inevetable amidst the enemy's soldiers within the palace and therefore followed him. Keshava also who was brought from Darad by Sañjapāla fought equally well with Sañjapāla at the dreadful fight that took place at Kāshṭavāṭa. Thus Tilaka and Keshava followed Sañjapāla in the fight as Sātyaki and Bhīma followed Arjuna when the king of Sindhu was seeking for an encounter with him. Though beaten, they with difficulty opened the gate of the court-yard, when king Sussala himself entered. The two forces mingled with each other in the fight and many perished in the court-yard. Ajjaka, the minister of king Salha, perished in the fight. He was born in the village of Pataṃga. Rūdra, a Kāyastha, who was made a treasurer, now fell in the battle and showed himself worthy of his master's favor. In the evening the birds settle on trees and make a noise, but when a stone is thrown at them they fly away and no more sound is heard; even so the field of battle which was full of sounds before, now became silent as a picture. King Sussala shouted as he rode on his horse. When

he was in the court-yard and had not yet seated himself on the throne, the voice of "Victory to Sussala," and the sound of drums were heard. In the family of Mallarāja, the honor that was lost by Salhaṇa and Loṭhana was won back again. Sussala embraced Salhaṇa and Loṭhana who were on their horses, and clad in mail and addressed them both calling them as "boy" and "youth" and cunningly caused them to be disarmed. He then secured them and ordered them to be removed to another house. Thus he got the kingdom and entered the court. Salhaṇa was captured after a reign of four months minus three days, on the third day of bright moon in the month of Vaishākha of the year 88.

When Sussala ascended the throne, the people forgot their sorrows within a short time and became glad as at the rising of the sun. Harassed by constant rebellion, Sussala kept his sword always unsheathed from the scabbard as the lion keeps his mouth open towards his hunter. He extirpated the families of those who had rebelled against his brother, and thus this politic king did not leave a single enemy alive. Seeing the wickedness of men, he assumed an unapproachable appearance, and never showed any leniency ; on the contrary he issued orders according to the deeds of men. He was in reality a kind-hearted man, but in order to curb wicked men, he assumed the severe character which was not his own. No one understood the times as he did, or could check mischief like him, or was more energetic,

or had more brilliant conceptions, or was more far-sighted than he was. His character was similar to that of his elder brother, in some qualifications he was superior, in some, equal, and in some, he was inferior. His elder brother's anger was like the poison of a dog, but his was like the sting of the bee. He did not disregard the Veda, and he maintained his dignity by curbing the haughtiness of his dependents. He did not wish for the death of the proud by duel but he settled their quarrels amicably. His brother used intolerably harsh words, but his words were affectionate and without abuse. He was avaricious of money and so collected a large fortune, and his charity was limited as he selected proper objects and proper occasions. He loved new constructions and horses, so that artists and native horse-dealers were enriched. The king was eager for conquests and also loved peace, he gave riches in charity, and had nothing with which he could not part on occasions of great danger or emergency. On Indradvādashī day, he gave away many clothes such as were not seen by any. As Uchchala was easily accessible and loved his servants so this king was inaccessible by his servants. None had a greater passion for horse, conveyances than Uchchala; and no one excelled Sussala in the administration of the kingdom. Uchchala relieved famines which occurred now and then but in the reign of king Sussala, famine never appeared even in dream. In short, this king was superior to his elder brother in all qualities except in

charity, in disregard for wealth, and in not being easily accessible to men.

Garga was Sahasramaṅgala's guardian and tried to make him king, but Sussala banished Sahasramaṅgala. When Garga was at Bhadrāvakāśha, Sahasramaṅgala's son Prāsa bribed the Ḍāmaras with much gold and conspired with them. Garga did not give up Uchchala's infant son to Sussala when asked by him to do so, but showed his enmity on that occasion. An innumerable army which the king sent against Garga was destroyed by him, as grass is destroyed by the forest fire. Garga's wife's brother, Vijaya, born at Devasarasa, also killed many of the king's soldiers. It was but a month and a day after the king had ascended the throne that this danger caused anxiety in his mind. It was at the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu where there were the gods Sureshvarī and Amaresha, that the royal army was annihilated by Garga. In this great battle, the two ministers Shṛiṅgāra and Kapiḷa were killed, as also the two brothers Karṇa and Shūdraka. They were Tantris. No one could remove their bodies from the field where they lay amongst those of many other good warriors. Many soldiers belonging to Harṣhamitra, lord of Kampana who was the son of the king's maternal uncle, were killed by Vijaya at Vijayeshvara. There fell Tihla, son of Maṅgalarāja, of the Kṣhetriya caste and also the Tantris Tivdākara and others. In the king's army, Sañjapāla showed the greatest valor for

though he had few soldiers under him yet Garga with a large army could not overcome him.

The steady king sent Lakkaka and others to collect his scattered army at Vijayakṣhetra, and when this was done, he himself marchrd against Garga. On the next day he searched and burnt the innumerable corpses of soldiers destroyed by Garga. Pressed by the powerful king, Garga burnt his own place of residence and marched towards Phalāhā. There, deserted by his followers, and deprived of his horses which were captured, Garga took shelter in Ratnavarṣha, a hill fort, to which the king laid siege. Sañjapāla who rode on his horse surrounded him there. Garga then gave up the son of Uchchala and submitted to the king, who came to him; and he soon gained the king's confidence by bringing to him Malakoṣhṭha, son of Karṇakoṣhṭha and an enemy to the king. The king accepted his submission, and as Vijaya was dead, and the disturbance was over, he slowly returned to his capital. He went to Lohara and searched and captured Salhaṇa and Loṭhana. He was then served by Kalha, Somapāla and other petty kings.

The king entered Kashmīra again and bestowed greater favors on Garga than on any other. The king was like the summer sun, his queen was like the cool shade of a tree and his son, like the woodland breeze. Vṛihaṭṭikka and Súkṣhmaṭikka, two Ḍāmaras, born at Devasarasa and of the same lineage as Vijaya, arrived within the limits of the king's territory, and asked for help from him. They

entered in his presence and stood like innocent men, and their followers wept. The king, confident of success on account of his peace with Garga, abandoned good manners and caused them to be driven away by those who had canes in their hands. They and their proud followers thereupon drew their arms and boldly attacked the king's soldiers. Bhogadeva, the Ḍāmara, struck the king with his dagger and the cool Gajjaka also struck the king at his back with his sword. The attack of the enemies on the king proved fruitless, because he was yet destined to live; but the mare on which he rode perished. The admirable Shṛiṅgārasiṃha, of the family of Vána, as he rode on his horse, warded off the blows which were directed against the king, and in that act he died. Vṛihaṭṭikka, Bhogaḍeva and others were killed by the king's soldiers, but Súkṣhmaṭṭikka, the cause of future rebellions, escaped. The rebels Gajjaka &c. were impaled and killed, and the king whose life was so lately endangered became more attached to Garga. A man will survive great calamities, if the ordained time of his death has not yet arrived, and when the time of death comes, even a flower destroys life. The pearls that lie within the sea are not deprived of lustre by the heat of the submarine fire that touches them; but when they are worn by young women on their breasts, they are spoilt by the heat of youth.

The king remembered not the services done by Sañjapāla and others, and not being able to brook haughtiness

in others, banished them from the country. Yashorāja who was related to the Kāka family was banished by the king, and he came over to Sahasramaṅgala who enlisted him in his party. He also enlisted others who had been banished from the country, and had attained wealth and fame, and he set himself against the king. His son Prāsa intended to enter Kāshmīra by the Kānda road, but returned in fear after Yashorāja had been wounded by the king's soldiers. He then joined the exiled servants of the king and gained great celebrity.

At the time when preparations for war were being made, three hill chiefs Jāsaṭa of Champā, Vajradhara of Vallāpura and Sahajapāla of Vartula and two heir-apparents Kahla of Trigarta and Ānandarāja of Vallāpura assembled together and arrived at Kurukṣhetra. They found Bhikṣhāchara who was saved by Āsamatī with Naravarmma; and Naravarmma gave gold to the former for expenses on the way. Jāsaṭa was related to Bhikṣhāchara and treated him well, and the other chiefs also honored him. They then arrived at Vallāpura. Vimba and others who were out of Kāshmīra joined Bhikṣhāchara so that the fame of Sahasramaṅgala was eclipsed. The people said that king Harṣha had directed Bhikṣhāchara to be king and questioned who the others were, and left Sahasramaṅgala and his party and flocked to Bhikṣhāchara. Darpaka of the royal line, son of the maternal uncle of Kumārapāla, father of Bhikṣhāchara, though not banished from Kāshmīra, for-

got the gratitude due to the king in his love for his relative and went over to Bhikṣhāchara. He had been raised to prosperity by Sussala as if he were his own son. Advised by the heir-apparent and Jāsaṭa, the chief of Vallāpura married his daughter to Bhikṣhāchara and bestowed Padmaka on him. Gayapāla, the Ṭhakkura of the country, assembled many chiefs and desired to place Bhikṣhāchara in the seat of his grandfather [Harṣha]. The king heard this news and became anxious, but in the meantime the powerful Gayapāla was murdered by his relatives through stratagem. Darpaka who had joined them at Padmaka and was the chief of Bhikṣhāchara's army fell in a battle. This reduced Bhikṣhāchara to an insignificant state, like a cloud in a rainless season. Āsamatī had gone away from him, and his gold for the road expenses was reduced; and even his father-in-law ill treated him then. For four or five years he lived in the house of Jāsaṭa and where he had barely food and clothing with difficulty. Deṅgapāla, a Ṭhakkura, who lived by the Chandrabhāga, married his daughter to Bhikṣhāchara and took him to his house. There for sometime he lived not in poverty and without fear, there he was beloved and there he attained his manhood.

In the meantime the excited and bold Prāsa, son of Sahasra, incurred the anger of the king by his frequent movements. Bent on rebellion, he entered Kāshmīra by the Siddhapaṭna road, when he was captured by the servants of the king and was brought before him.

Amidst these troubles, the nobleness of Sañjapāla was conspicuous; for though aggrieved, he did not rebel but retired to another country. This noble hero spread his great fame in foreign countries by his valor. What more shall I say of him?

The king had banished Sahela and other nobles, and gave the post of Sarvvādhikāra to Gauraka, a Kāyastha. This person was distantly related to the hermit of Vijayeshvara, and by his service had become the favourite of the king when he was at Lohara. The king gradually removed the Kāyasthas who were in the service and made Gauraka, his minister. When he attained this post, he made new arrangements and he supported the king's dependents by means of the income which easily flowed in from various sources. The wickedness of this man was not known owing to his mildness, as the fatal taste of poison is hidden when it is sweetened. The king who had squandered the wealth treasured before, now filled his treasuries with the wealth of misers, even as the cloud discharges snows on the snows. When king's treasury is polluted with the wealth of misers, it is either robbed by thieves or by enemies. The king was avaricious, and always sent the hoarded treasure to Lohara hills. Vaṭṭapañjaka and others, creatures of Gauraka and servants of the state, impoverished the country, as if some great calamity had befallen it.

After the death of Uchchala when the stone had been placed on his head, the servants of the state, like hunters again oppressed the people. After the death of

Prashas akalasha, his brother's son Kāyasthakanaka made good use of his money. He constantly relieved the miseries of persons who came from a distance, driven by famine. The king now, without due care, gave good posts to them whose character was proved after Uchchala's death to be bad. He placed the notorious Tilakasiṃha at Dvāra and Tilakasiṃha's brother, Janaka, at Rājasthāna [palace.] Tilakasiṃha vigorously attacked Rasādhipa and exacted tribute from him. Tilaka [another person of the same name] of the family of Kāka, to whom the king had bestowed Kampana, began to act very mischievously, as the storm does to trees. Sajjaka, lord of Sheḍḍarājasthāna, armed himself with rustic weapons and subdued some powerless enemies. Avāpishṭa, servant of Aṭṭamelaka, had, through the favor of the Kāka family, access to the king, and the king accepted his advice. Thus the king, leaving aside his pride, spent some days in selecting ministers high and low according to merit.

The king commenced to build three [illegible] temples on the banks of the Vitastā, one in his own [illegible] one in the name of his mother-in-law, and one in the name of his wife. He spent much wealth and renewed the Diddāvihāra which was burnt by fire, during the revolution.

When the king went to the town of Aṭṭilikā, he was advised by his faithful friends, Kalpa &c., who were with him, to destroy Garga. They were envious of Garga, because his son Kalyāṇachandra showed greater ability

in hunting than they. They repeatedly urged that the king should put down one who was most powerful, and they caused him to turn against Garga. One of king's servants told Garga of the king's intention to imprison him and keep him at Lohara, and Garga was frightened. He with his son fled to his home, and after a few days the king also returned to his capital. The mutual distrust and difference between Garga and the king were matured by instigators who frequented their houses.

The king drove from him, Vijaya, brother of Garga's wife, though out of affection, the king was afterwards grieved for him. He now set free Mallakoṣhṭaka, Garga's enemy, whom he had imprisoned before, and in his anger, also liberated the Ḍāmaras who were confined with Mallakoṣhṭaka and raised him to power. The king's army slowly marched out for battle, but was, as before, annihilated by Garga at Amareshvara. There Pṛithvīhara, a Samāla Ḍāmara, of the party of the king, gained great reputation by behaving more boldly than any others. Tilakasiṃha, lord of Dvāra, was defeated by Garga and he fled, and his valor was the subject of laughter for all. Out of pity Gargachandra did not kill Tilakasiṃha's surviving soldiers who were wounded and were without arms or clothes. When the dead were burnt, the funeral piles were countless.

The king then led back his army, he burnt Garga's dwelling, and Garga retired from Lohara to the Chūḍāvana hill. The king arrived at its base, and Garga daily

maintained fight with the royal army on the roads leading up to the hill. He harassed the king's soldiers every night by secret warfare and killed Trailokyarāja and other Tantris. In the month of Phālguna there was a heavy fall of snow, Garga's followers were few and the king was his enemy: yet he did not lose his presence of mind. The patient Tilaka, lord of Kampana, of the family of Kāka, was alone able to pursue him to the peak where he had taken shelter. Thus pressed by Tilaka, Garga sent his wife to his daughter [who was married to the king] and received the good will of the king who hid his anger in his assumed kindness. But he was secretly annoyed with Garga, and though he made peace with him and went away from the place, yet he favored Mallakoṣhṭa instead of crushing him.

While the king's intentions were thus kept undisclosed, Garga for two or three months suffered the rivalry of Mallakoṣhṭa and bore insults from his inferiors. In the meantime the king caused disunion in the army of Garga and caused his servants to spread evil reports among themselves. Garga's inferior relations were treated as his equals by the king, and Garga felt hurt at this; he took advice, and he with his wife and son came to the king when the latter was in his bath. The king rebuked him and disarmed him. Who can feel a pride in manliness, or can respect heroism, when even Garga, when rebuked, remained powerless like a coward? Where was then his pride of making and unmaking kings when like a common man, he conducted himself with weakness?

The beings in this world yield to the will of Vidhātā, even as the strings of an instrument yield to the will of their maker. Some of those wicked persons, now favourites of the king, who could not even look on Garga in battle, came ana bound his arms at every joint. Kalyāṇa and others who were in a house near Shrīsaṅgrāmamaṭha desisted from rising on the approach of the king. Videha, son of Garga, consoled himself when he heard that his father was alive, and was with difficulty made to give up his arms by the king. According to the king's orders, Garga and his wife and son were confined in the palace and were served with befitting food. The son of Garga fled from the house to Chatuṣhka but the low Karṇa saw him and brought him back to the king. The favor of the vulgar people is as inconstant as that of a king; it appears and disappears by turns.

When Maṇidhara, lord of Darad, came to see the king, the king went out to visit him and at the same time ordered Garga to be killed by his servants. After living for two or three months in prison, he and his three sons were violently killed at night by means of ropes tied round their necks. In the same way that the royal servants killed Garga, Vimbamukha tied a rope round his own neck and with his son threw himself into the water, and thus obtained fame. In the year 94, in the month of Bhādra, the king killed Garga to make his path easy, but he had to suffer misery, for he had to meet a great rebellion.

The king was very much grieved at the accession of Kahla to the throne of Kāliñjara and at the death of Mallā, mother of his principal queen.

In the meantime Nāgapāla, brother of Somapāla, when the latter had killed his elder step-brother Pratāpapāla, took fright and killed the minister who was the instrument of the murder, and fled from his country and took refuge with king Sussala. The king was angry at this and discarding the love for his obedient servant Somapāla determined to march against him. Somapāla felt certain that the enraged king could neither be resisted nor be induced to return, and he brought the kings' enemy Bhikshāchara from Vallāpura. When the king heard that Somapāla had brought his relative, he was angry, and he attacked Rājapurī and entered it. Somapāla fled, and Sussala bestowed the kingdom on Nāgapāla and remained there for seven months overawing his several enemies. The great king thus gave Vajradhara and other kings an opportunity of serving him, and was greatly pleased at their service. His soldiers frequently wandered about the banks of the river Chandrabhāgā, &c., and his enemies were unable even to look at the faces of his soldiers.

Tilaka, lord of Kampana, went before him and the Ḍāmaras. Prithvīhara was charged to guard the way. The virtuous king saved Brahmapurī and the temples of gods from the enemy and attained the high fruits of virtue. What shall I say of the furniture of this rich king?

Even the grass for his horses were brought all the way from his own kingdom. Here Sussala passed his days in pleasure and trusted those who were near him and raised them to prosperity. He became angry with Gauraka who was now at a distance; it was the king himself who had placed Gauraka in Kāshmīra for its protection. But he now found out that he was wicked and was stealing all his money. In connection with this affair, the king rebuked Gauraka's brother, Tilakasiṃha, and made his heart uneasy. The king became angry with Tilakasiṃha, despoiled him of his possession and made Ānandạ lord of Dvāra. This person was born at Parṇotsa and was master of Ananta. Somapāla and other ministers were at that time much admired; for though the king was there, yet they did not come to him. In the year 95, in the month of Vaishākha, the king returned to his country, and Nāgapāla, driven from his kingdom, followed him

The king reduced his expenses through avarice and punished some of his dependents. He dismissed Gauraka from his post and punished Gauraka's dependents; hence all his ministers were displeased with him. But he lost much of his wealth by his unwise acts and through the inexperience of the newly created ministers. He made bricks of gold and sent them to Lohara, as also heaps of gold like mountains. In order to punish the servants of Garga, he made Gañjaka who was Garga's minister, the superintendent of punishments. The servants of Garga

apprehending chastisement took refuge with Mallakoṣhṭaka who in anger killed Gañjaka in disguise although Gañjaka had reposed his trust on him. At the breaking out of this disorder at Lohara, the king imprisoned Arjjuṇa who was near him. He was the elder step-brother of Mallakoṣhṭa. He also imprisoned Hasta, son of Saḍḍachandra, though his kinsman, and Hasta's brother Vindaka. The king, in pursuance of past enmity, imprisoned Sūryya and his son and then Ānandachandra and others; and thus acted against the dictat s of sound policy. When Mallakoṣhṭa fled out of Lohara, the king in anger, impaled Arjjuṇakoṣhṭa.

The king left his army there and entered the city, destroyed his faithful men and made all the Dāmaras his enemies. He was even angry with Pṛithvīhara who served him and who by the king's orders was attacked by the lord of Kampana and other ministers. But he escaped with difficulty and went to the house of his friend Kṣhīra. None of his enemies opposed him as on the way he passed through Avantipura and other towns in a miserable plight. The distress of Pṛithvīhara ruined the subjects of the king, even like the curse of some angry spirit. Then the quick-witted Kṣhīra sent eighteen Ḍāmaras with Pṛithvīhara to Shamāgāsa. The king went to Vijayeshvara and employed Tilaka, lord of Kampana, to suppress Pṛithvīhara and his unsubdued men. The most valient Tilaka cut the enemies to pieces in battle and dispersed them, as the strong wind scatters

the clouds. When he returned after conquering the Ḍāmaras, the king, instead of honoring him, insulted him and disallowed him from entering the city. And when the king had entered it, Tilaka, disheartened and grieved and discouraged in his master's service, retired to his own house.

When a master treats men of superior rank and men of inferior rank in the same way, and does not try to improve the position of men in middling condition; when he exhibits greater cruelty and enmity towards servants than towards open enemies; and when, after his servants have done his work, he offers insult instead of reward to those who have shewn unusual skill in such work;—such a master is deserted by his servants, as a house full of snakes is deserted by men. When the lord of Kampana left the king's service, the Ḍāmaras every where destroyed provisions, as blight destroys the harvest. The Brāhmaṇas were struck with fear and began to starve, and in every city, they brought much infamy on the king. Horses and elephants began to die indicating the approach of some great calamity to the country. Men trembled in fear at the nearness of danger, even as trees tremble in the wind just before they are struck with lightning.

In the beginning of the year 96, the Ḍāmaras were ready to fall, as the snow on the eve of melting at the touch of summer. At first the rebellion broke out in Devasarasa and thence it spread, even as the pain in the

cheek-bone spreads over the whole face. The powerful Vijaya made common cause with his kinsman Ṭikkā and surrounded the royal army that was stationed at Sthāma. Nāgavaṭṭa, son of a Kāyastha, was the commander of the army at Sthāma; he sustained for a long time the rush of the enemy. The lord of Kampana was asked by the king to go to battle and he went after much entreaty, but with relaxed powers, remembering the faults of the king. In the battle which ensued between him and Vijaya, victory remained long doubtful.

When Mallakoṣhṭa gained power in Lohara, the king, in the month of Vaishākha, went to the village of Thalyoraka. His army was many times misled, and it found itself before the enemy, as a man is led by dreadful dreams before death. But he who relying on his own strength had defeated even king Harṣha in the fullness of his power and force, who with great valor and jealousy had conquered the world and to whose courage there was no limit, even he, in time, was defeated and his army suddenly broken. When he fled, Pṛithvīhara who was at the village of Hāmigrāma came unexpectedly and defeated the hero Sajjaka. Sajjaka fled and the cruel and powerful Pṛithvīhara pursued him. Pṛithvīhara burnt Nāgamaṭha near the city and returned. He and other cruel Ḍāmaras made away with the horses of the king and those of the king's men and of the spies.

The king became furious and cruel and took to the wicked ways of wretched men. The policy of Pṛithvī-

hara failed, and the king at night avoided the Dāmaras, as one avoids food sprinkled with poison. He sent his brother Hamva to Vindaka and likewise sent his other brothers and sons to other men. He tore the nose and the ears of the mother of Jayaka who lived at the village of Siphinnā and sent her to him. In the city he impaled Sūryyaka and his son, and in anger killed others,—those who deserved death and those who did not deserve death. Furious as Death, he was feared by all,—both by his household people and by outsiders, and they were all disgusted with him. Though the king disapproved the unjust policy by which king Harṣha had lost his kingdom yet he adopted it in practice. He who is himself without a fault and who never makes a blunder in matters of policy can alone, from a distance, point out the failings of those who enter in battle or are addicted to elephant fight, or of those who are engaged in gambling or are placed in charge of the affairs of kings. The king made vigorous efforts and somewhat checked Mallakoṣhṭa and others.

Now Vijaya slowly brought Bhikṣhāchara, grandson of king Harṣha, by the road of Viṣhalāṇṭa, but being defeated by the lord of Kampana, he fled towards Devasarasa. As he was running along a gap, he fell to the earth. The victor sent his head to the king as a fruit of the tree of victory. But the ungrateful monarch was not pleased with this great act nor gave him fitting honor. He sent him a messenger saying "it was the Hollow, lord of Kam-

pana, [alluding to Vijaya's death in the hollow] that has killed the rebel, why then do you boast?" Tilaka knew the king to be thoroughly ungrateful and in disgust thought of rebelling. If one is insulted and he desists from work, the good people do not blame him, but if he actually rebels, then his conduct becomes blamable. Let those who delight in politics say what may appear proper to them, but the proud, when they are requested by grateful persons, do good to others even at the sacrifice of their lives. When the cloth has caught fire, when the serpent has bitten on the skin, when secret plans have reached the enemy's ear, when a dilapidated house is about to fall, when the king appreciates not service and when friends are faithless and ready to turn away in time of danger,—a wise man can attain prosperity only by avoiding them. But those who, instead of merely leaving their wicked master, proceed against him in anger, are called rebels, and who are greater sinners than they? We are indebted to our parents for our birth, but are indebted to our master for everything; so that those who rebel against their masters are greater sinners than those who kill their parents.

When Vijaya was killed and others subdued, Tilaka did not think the country had become quiet. For a short time he held himself aloof and spread disaffection, and all people knew that the sedition had spread. In order to bring back Mallakoṣhṭa and Bhikṣhāchara, he sent his

army to Viṣhalāṇṭa. The lord of Kampana, though a rebel, informed the king of their approach, but the king forbade him to give him such information and thus said in anger: "Allow them passage without obstruction and we will kill them as they run before us, as horsemen kill a jackal when it comes before hunters." Though the king knew how to behave when the kingdom was thus divided, yet led by fate, he remained inactive on the present occasion. The rebel Tilaka gained over Marmmarāja, and other Ḍāmaras brought in the followers of Bhikṣhāchara by mountainous roads. Such tales as reflected glory on Bhikṣhāchara and discredit on the king were heard from place to place and were told by one to another. "Bhikṣhāchara talks in none but the classical language." "He can pierce through ten pieces of stone by an arrow." "When walking, he can go and return one hundred yojanas without being tired." Such laudatory stories about Bhikṣhāchara were repeated even by the aged, grey and long bearded men, and all listened with pleasure. Even those who knew nothing of the king told and sought for tales regarding Bhikṣhāchara, as if he would be the sole king of the country possessing all the treasures. Old men who bathe in the bathing houses in the river, the inferior servants, the numberless men who pass as sons of kings, the naturally wicked but aspiring warriors, teachers who teach their students, the old men who live in temples, dancing girls, the chiefs of temples, the merchants who appropriate money deposited

with them, the court Brāhmaṇas who hear what is read and who are versed in magic, the soldiers mostly drawn from the agricultural population, the Ḍāmaras who live near the capital;—these humour the people with exciting news, and generally become rebels in Kāshmīra. The people trembled and the king became anxious as the report of the approach of Bhikṣhāchara gained ground.

The very powerful Pṛithvīhara who stationed himself on a level plain covered with trees and bordering on the mountains came out and defeated the royal army. Ānanda, lord of Dvāra, of the line of Ananta, Kāka and Tilakasiṃha;—these three who had once fled from battle were made ministers. Vijaya fell in Jaiṣhṭa, and the king suffered a defeat on the sixth day of bright moon in Āṣhāḍha and became disheartened. As when the cows run about, or the serpents ascend the tops of trees, or the ants lay eggs, the approach of rain is known; so the king knew by evil omens, that danger was nigh and did what was necessary to be done. On the third day of bright moon, in the month of Āṣhāḍha, he sent his queen, his son and other relatives to the fortified Lahara. He followed them, but the bridge on the Vitastā broke down and some Brāhmanas and the twice-born inhabitants of Loṣhṭa fell in the river. Grieved at this ill omen, he accompanied his family for two or three days to Huṣhkapura, and then again returned to his capital. Bereft of his queen and son, he appeared as if he was forsaken

by wealth and power. This step appeared a good one for him in the time of danger; for though at present he was greatly frightened, yet afterwards he gained prosperity. Like king Harṣha, he caused his own danger, but on account of his taking this step his line still rules the country.

In the month of Shrāvaṇa, the warriors of Lahara brought Bhikṣhāchara to the powerful Ḍāmaras of Maḍava. As friends accompany the bridegroom to the house of the bride, so came they who followed Bhikṣhāchara from Lahara. Mallakoṣhṭa and others having satisfied the people of Lahara, sent them back to their own homes to annoy the lord of Kampana. When the enemy had approached on every side, the king began to enlist infantry at an enormous expense. Bent on his purpose, he spent so much money that even artisans and cart-drivers took up arms. The leaders of the army who were in the city left their armours on their horses, and prepared themselves for competition in athletic exercises in every street.

When Bhikṣhāchara was at Mayagrāma, the people of Lahara came out and fought with the king's soldiers who were at Amareshvara. In the fierce battle that took place near the town of Hiraṇy pura, the men of Lahara killed Vināyakadeva and other leaders of the king's army. Early in the battle, the enemy captured a fine mare belonging to the king, and thought that he had got the king's good fortune. On the banks of the

Kṣhiptikā, near the capital, Pṛithvīhara killed many good soldiers of the king. Though Tilaka was at Vijayesha, the Ḍāmaras who dwelt at Ṣvaṅgāchīholaḍa came and fought a battle on the banks of the Mahāsarit (great river.) They besieged the city in some places, they burnt the inhabitants in some places, they plundered them and yelled day and night. Every day there were disorders in the roads on account of the rebellion. The music of soldiers marching out, the entrance of the wounded troops, lamentation for the death of relatives and friends, the retreat of the defeated soldiers, the flight of birds and the falling of arrows, the carrying of armours, the march of horses and the dust constantly raised by them ;—all these continually disturbed the citizens. Every morning the enemies came ready with every thing and the people thought they would overcome the king on that very day. Who was more enduring than the king, since he gave no expression of grief when his kingdom was so much disturbed by the enemies? He was seen causing bandages to be bound on the wounds of the wounded, or the blades of arrows &c., to be extracted from the wounds, or causing money to be distributed. Immense sums of money were spent in daily expenses,—such as extra allowance for living in foreign districts, or in distributing good food and medicine. Thousands of horses and soldiers were daily destroyed in the field, or wounded in their houses. Mallakoṣhṭa and others of Lahara were checked

in their excesses by the king's army in which there were many horsemen. Advised by their partisans who were gained over by the king, the soldiers carried Bhikṣhāchara to Sureshvarī by a certain way. But as they were crossing a pool by a narrow bridge, they had to fight a battle. Bowmen formed the larger portion of their army, and though they were frightened by the king's horse, they gained the victory in the end. The lord of Kampana who had rebelled against the king, came out of Vijayeshvara where he lived and checked the powerful Ḍāmaras. He was afraid lest the Lavanya people (Ḍāmaras) would come to know his weakness and fall on his rear and harass him in his march; wishing therefore to conceal his weakness, he fell on the soldiers of Ajarāja who arrived at Vijayeshvara, killed two hundred and fifty men of the enemy, left Vijayakṣhetra and entered the city. The Ḍāmaras, thus terrified, did not pursue him, but with shouts ascended the top of a hill and left him the road free. When leaving Maḍava, the lord of Kampana entered another province, he remembered the former behaviour of the king towards him and smiled at the welcome which the king now offered to him. But having shown his valor in battle, the lord of Kampana, like other inferior ministers, remained inactive.

At this time all the Ḍāmaras came to Maḍava and reached the banks of the Mahāsarit, (great river). All the means which the king employed against the enemy became fruitless, as his plans were betrayed by his own

men. He who had attacked several kings before was now engaged in defending his own capital. The lord of Dvāra remained at Amaresha with the king's sons and the Rājasthānīya ministers remained near Rājānagarden. They went to Prapāsada, but did not fight. They remained inactive as if they had been in a distant island. The army of the rebels sometimes gained and sometimes lost battles but Pṛithvīhara always gained victories. In a battle, the soldiers in the king's army, great and small, were all defeated by Pṛithvīhara as he fought excited with wine. The valor of Udaya, born of the line of Ichchhaṭi, was conspicuous in battle, although he was very young. He dwelt with Pṛithvīhara, but the latter pulled him by the beard, whereupon he beat Pṛithvīhara and snatched the sword from his hand. The battle took place just by the side of the capital, and even women and children were killed, being accidentally struck by arrows. Thus, there was an increased slaughter of men, and the king became confounded and he was unable to get out of the array of the soldiers. When the king's movement was thus stopped, Somapāla took this opportunity to plunder Chāṭalikā. Where is the valor in the village-jackal approaching the lion's den, when the lion is engaged in fighting with the elephant?

The king was so grieved at the misfortunes that befell his two kingdoms (Kāshmīra and Lahara) that he could not even look on himself. Evil deeds, dangers and miseries were around him, nevertheless his determination did

not leave him. The Brāhmaṇas in the palace who were vexed with the king performed mystic rites to cause harm to the king under the pretence of doing him good. They told the king that his ministers were indifferent as to the issue of battles and asked him therefore to take away his treasure from them and send it to the hills of Lahara; otherwise, they urged, if these troubles continued and if the enemy took possession of the autumn harvest, there would be no means left for defence. All the ministers were alarmed when their indifference was thus pointed out by the Brāhmaṇas to the king. He waited for suitable opportunity and conducted himself as if he had not noticed the lukewarmness of the ministers. The wily and avaricious Brāhmaṇas who could not so much as turn a grass, now upset the plan of the king. The hot headed courtiers and others who served the king obtained influence with him and became as harmful as an army of the enemy. Many evils arose out of this. The country was harassed and plundered, as it had never been before. The wily people who had never seen the king's court before, and who did not know manners, spoke harshly to the aggrieved king when he was trying to quiet them. These troubles became more tumultuous than those caused by the Lavanyas, just as a disease in the throat becomes more painful than that in the leg. The king bribed those who were most active in conspiring against him and prevented the performance of mystic rites to some extent.

Vijaya, of the line of Varṇasoma the warrior, a commander in the army of Bhikṣhāchara, made a sudden entry into the capital, but was killed by the horsemen. He had nearly upset the kingdom by speedily penetrating into the city. The king was intending to cause a dissension in the enemy's party, and Pṛithvīhara, whose ardour had been somewhat checked, expressed his desire for peace with him. When this great warrior wished for peace with the king, the soldiers of both parties thought that their wars were at an end. The king sent three confidential ministers to bring Pṛithvīhara to the neighbourhood of Nāgamaṭha, but he came and treacherously murdered them. Mammaka, son of the nurse, Gaṅga and Dvijarāma the Vārika, and their three servants were murdered by the side of Tilakasiṃha. Gauraka, although he gave much wealth, was murdered by his merciless enemies and he died meditating on god Shiva to the last moment and amidst the cries of his friends and relatives. The king heard of this wicked deed; and all the people of the country became vexed and spoke ill of him in the capital.

The king found it difficult to pass the fourteenth bright lunar day of Āshvina. His kingdom was in tumult, he was weary and void of further hopes, and he asked even unworthy persons as to what he should do. When the king was thus in danger, those around him all rejoiced in their hearts, but in their outward behaviour, they expressed sympathy for the king. The king was

unable to bear the great calamity; his servants gradually left him and joined the opposite party. Vimba, the step brother of the lord of Kampana, accepted the post given to him by the king at Dvára, and went over to the enemy's side. Janakasiṃha engaged through secret messenger to marry his brother's daughter with Bhikṣhāchara, and remained inactive. The cavalry men daily went over to Bhikṣhāchara taking horses, swords, mails &c., with them. What more shall I say of those who remained idly with the king during the day, but whose shameless figures were seen at night with Bhikṣhāchara? When the king became powerless to execute his orders, the people freely and openly changed sides and created much tumult. The Ḍāmaras from all sides plundered the autumn harvest, and the people who had neither money nor men lived on roots. Men falsely believed that when king Sussala would depart, Bhikṣhāchara would fill the earth with gold. When were the charities of Bhikṣhāchara seen, or where were his riches? Men who follow other men are deceived. The crescent of the moon has no clothes to give, and yet men bow down to it in the hope of obtaining clothing! Fie to the avaricious who have no judgment. When the king's party obtained victory, the people hung their heads, but when Bhikṣhāchara's party won, the people would create a tumult in their joy. The king and the Ḍāmaras stood in fear of each other, like the Brāhmaṇa and the dog. The king was afraid on account of the defection of his people, and the Ḍāmaras

wished to flee on account of the king's firmness. Both parties remained in fear, neither knowing what step the other was going to adopt. The king mistrusted his friends and believed them to be rebels at heart, and despaired of his life whether he remained there or fled. At the time of this great danger, he bestowed garments, gold and jewels to the soldiers, yet none of them spoke well of him but all spoke ill of him. The people said without fear, "he is lost," "he will not be king again." The king heard this and felt disheartened, even as a sickman whom his physician has given up feels to hear the words, "he will not live," "he is dead." Even when the king came before his servants who were called in by his orders, they would look disrespectfully and indifferently on him. At this time the soldiers became so timid that they could not, through fear, get out of their own homes. There was disaffection among the king's men and the Ḍāmaras intended to attack him, and he was placed in great danger by his own soldiers. They shut up the doors of his palace, and harassed him at every step for the allowance which was due to them for serving abroad. The king was very rich and gave them more than was their due, but could not please them, as they were only bent on insulting him. As a sickman, when he goes to a shrine to die, is troubled by the beggars there, so the king was confined by these shameless soldiers who thus extorted their due. The tumultuous local officers used violence towards the king, attacked him, smashed his golden

vessels and robbed him of his wealth. The king could not keep down the tumults that arose every moment in the city, as in a sea, in which there were young and old. One morning his doors were closed by the soldiers, he saw the town in complete agitation, and directed Janaka, the superintendent of the city, to go round and quell the tumult. But Janaka went a short distance only and returned.

The king gave money and bestowed titles on the soldiers and with difficulty got rid of them, and clad in mail and accompanied by his ladies, he set out of the capital. But before he got out of the court-yard, thieves began their plunder. When the king left his domestics and kingdom and had gone, some cried, some yelled, some committed plunder. The king was filled with shame, anger and fear, and was followed on the way by five or six thousand soldiers. In the year 96, on the sixth dark lunar day of Agrahāyaṇa, when there was yet one prahara of the day left, the king set out with his servants. At every step, his own men deserted him and stole his horses. Thus with a few soldiers, at night, he arrived at Pratāpapura. When he came to Tilaka, he confided in him and shed tears in sorrow, as before a friend. Believing that Tilaka would not rebel against him, the king went to his house at Hushkapura the next day, and honored Tilaka by performing his bath &c., in his house. The king wished to collect an army, and with a view of again obtaining the kingdom he entered Kramarājya.

There Tilaka brought Kalyāṇavaḍya and other warlike Ḍāmaras before the king and the king became impatient and went away from the house. On the road he found robbers obstructing the passage ; he gave them money and went his way. Tilaka left him there, but Ānanda, Tilaka's brother, went with him one stage further, out of politeness. The king, although deserted by his servants, satisfied the robbers in the road by his gift and by his valor. He was saved from them only because he was not yet destined to die. The claws of the lion with which he defends himself in impenetrable forests full of trees and rocks, come in time to adorn the necks of boys ; and the tusks of elephants which they use as weapons in battle are in time easily handled by men in the game of dice. Valor, charity, fame, wisdom &c., of living beings ;—all perish in this wonderful world. Even the sun has different aspects, it is sometimes bright and sometimes dull. What stability is there then in the power of living beings? Unable to bear the sight of the houses burnt by the enemies, the king and his soldiers moved silently and in anger, and ascended the hills of Lahara. There through shame, he was unable to look on his queen and lay day and night on his bed and lamented. Even in the day time, light burned in his inner room from which he did not issue, only he showed himself to his servants at the time of his meal, as a favor. He did not touch perfumes, did not ride horses, nor did he relish songs or dancing,

nor enjoyed the company of his friends. He recollected in grief and narrated to his queen, one by one, the indifference, the anger, insolence and the rebellion of his men; and he bestowed riches on his attendants, because they had left their homes and followed him.

When the king had departed, all the ministers in Kāshmīra, with their armies, met before the capital; and by the consent of the ministers, the horsemen, the petty chieftains, the Tantris, the citizens and others, Janakasiṃha became their head and superintendent of the city. Mallakoṣhṭa and others who were in the confidence of Bhikṣhu, and were in frequent personal communication with him, caused Janakasiṃha to give his son and his brother's son as hostages, in order to inspire confidence. To the terror of all, night closed on the capital which was without a king and which was full of timid women and children. In the capital without a king, some weak persons were killed, some feeble persons were robbed and the houses of some powerless men were burnt by the enemies.

On the next day, Bhikṣhu entered the capital, his soldiers shouted and filled the roads on all sides. He was in the midst of his horsemen, whose horses were painted with vermilion and were hid by innumerable swords drawn out of their scabbards. He excited the curiosity and fear of men, like a lion. His youthful hair flowed loosely out of his warrior's dress and adorned his back, as if to bind the goddess of victory. His earings

adorned his face. His calm, spacious, white eyes, his beard, the marks of sandel that adorned him, his copper colored lips and his face beaming with additional grace on account of victory,—turned even the hearts of enemies towards him. The drawn sword cast its reflection on the horse and the horse's hair fanned him. His horse stopped at every step and he accepted the offers of minor chiefs. Mallakoṣhṭa sat behind the boy (Bhikṣhu) and advised him in every thing, like a nurse, and pointed out persons to Bhikṣhu saying, "this person was dear to your father," "on this man's lap you were nursed," "this person is the main support of the kingdom." Bhikṣhu had first entered the house of Janakasiṃha for marriage, and he now entered the capital in order to assume the royal state. For a long time his family was nearly extinct and when it lingered in him, it was an object of derision, like the hopes of a woman who places reliance on the child in her womb. But after seeing Bhikṣhu's career, men began to fear even the portraits of their enemies. Surely those who aspire to conquests should not be derided.

The wealth which was left out of king Sussala's treasures afforded means for luxuries to the new king. The king, the Ḍāmaras and the ministers who had plundered the treasures were now free from all difficulties and divided among themselves many horses, coats of mail, swords &c. The robbers who lived on poor food and walked about like evil spirits, now began to

enjoy in towns, the pleasures of heaven. The king sat in his court with villagers clad in flowing blankets. The Ḍāmaras witnessed the uncommon prosperity of Bhikṣhāchara and spread a rumour that he was an incarnation of a god. Bhikṣhāchara had never known the duties of a king and at every step was at a loss what to do, like a physician with medicines whose effects he has not tested. Janakasiṃha willingly gave his brother's daughter in marriage to the king, and the lord of Kampana also married his daughter to him and placed himself under his protection. Jaṅga, a leader of the army of the king to Rājapurī, accepted service under king Bhikṣhu, but he was more mindful of his own interests than of his master's. Vimba, the chief minister, was the king *defacto* while Bhikṣhāchara was so in name. Vimba, although he enriched the prostitutes and behaved like a vulgar man, was yet liked both by the good and the wicked. Jyeṣhṭapāla who possessed great heroism, and was the step brother of Daryyaka became a great favourite of the king. Bhūtavishva and other ministers of the king's grand-father also obtained much wealth.

The king was at a loss as to what to do, the ministers were sunk in luxury, the robbers became powerful, and the government, though new, collapsed as soon as it was formed. The king did not look to his own duties, but only sought enjoyment in the company of new women and in many sorts of dainties. He was blinded by his pleasures, and was only sent to attend his court by his

own men for his good. There, in the court, he used to sleep under the influence of wine. When the minister spoke to him haughtily and expressed his pity, the king instead of being angry loved him as his father. Served as a vulgar man by shameless and lewed flatterers, he was induced to do the work of menials. His patience was as unsteady as a line drawn on water. He spoke falsehood, and his friends deserted his service. Whatever his ministers told him was communicated by him to other kings; he was like a vessel with a hole that dropped anything that was poured in it. The ministers took him to their houses and feasted him; and they robbed him, as a richman is robbed on the occasion of his father's death. In the house of Vimba, Vimba's wife, for whom he felt a passion, removed the dishes from before the king, and concealing herself from the eyes of her husband, she smiled, looked on the king and exposed to his sight, her breast and waist, and the king became impatient. Pṛithvīhara and Mallakoshṭa became jealous of, and angry with, each other and now and then disturbed the capital. The king himself went to their houses and married the daughter of the one to the son of the other, but still these powerful men did not forget their anger. The king himself married in the house of Pṛithvīhara at which Mallakoshṭa became angry and openly deserted the king. Janaka became powerful on account of his connection with the king; he rebelled and also caused disaffection in Ujānanda and other

Brāhmaṇa ministers. The king who was indifferent to these, acted according to the advice of his servants who were rebels at heart. His actions were without any plan, and he was blamed. What strange things will not occur where the Ḍāmaras are masters and Brāhmaṇa women are insulted by dog-eaters. In that kingdom without a king, or rather with many kings, all rules of custom were upset. In the reign of Bhikṣhāchara, old Dīnnāras became uncurrent and one hundred of the old could be bought for eighty of the new.

In order to attack Sussala, the mad king sent Vimba with an army to Lohara by the Rājapurī road. After Vismaya of Sallāra had become his friend, the king, accompanied with Somapāla, brought an army of Turuṣhka to aid Vimba; and to every individual Turuṣhka he showed a cord and said that he would bind and drag Sassala with it. The Kāshmīrian, the Khaṣha, the Mlechchha soldiers could upset the world. What was impossible for them? When Vimba had departed, Bhikṣhāchara was deprived of his guide, and what wrong act did he not do? The unchaste wife of Vimba invited the king to her house and satisfied him with a feast and with her embraces. No pressure of work would prevent the king's visit to the wife of his minister. He, whose fall was nigh, feared not ill fame. There he took his meals and played on the musical instruments kumbha and kaṃsya, and exhibited his shamelessness. He was not ashamed to do these things, like vulgar men. Slowly

the king lost his support and his wealth was gone, he could not even get his food in time.

Sussala who was avaricious and cruel and whom the people had abused before, became dear to them; the subjects who had been vexed with him, and had ruined his wealth and fame, now became eager for his return. We who have seen these events still wonder why those subjects had been angry with him, and then loved him. The common people become enemies or friends in a moment, they are like brutes and have no regard for reason. The king (Sussala) came out of his kingdom (Lohara); and Mallakoshṭa, Janaka and others made him prepare himself for conquest. When the people plundered Akṣhasuva, a village belonging to Ṭikka and inhabited by Brāhmaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas there commenced mystic rites. The Brāhmaṇas who dwelt in other Brāhmaṇa villages came to Vijayeshvara and to the neighbourhood of the Rājāna garden in the capital. Instigated by Ojānanda and other chief Brāhmaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas who were in the temple, even at Gokula, commenced to perform rites. Many images of gods were placed on vehicles and adorned with white umbrellas and clothes and chāmaras from all sides covered the yard; and the sounds of kāhalā, kaṃsya and tāla resounded on all sides. Thus there was seen an assembly of Brāhmaṇas the like of which was never seen before. When the king's messengers went to silence them, they proudly said that they had no help except in the Long Beard.

They indicated king Sussala by speaking of the Long Beard, and they regarded him as a plaything. The Brāhmaṇas concerted various plans with the citizens who came day by day to see the magic performed. The Brāhmaṇas and the citizens who feared an attack from the king every moment were prepared for fight. Janakasiṃha advised that the king should be brought into the city. To prevent the Brāhmaṇas from performing the magic, the king went to Vijayakṣhetra, but he failed in his object. In the meantime Tilaka advised him to kill all the Ḍāmaras, but the king did not accept his advice. When the Lavanyas (Ḍāmaras) heard that the king had declined the proposal, they were pleased, but Pṛithvīhara and others became afraid of Tilaka. The king wished to imprison the haughty Lakṣhaka the charioteer, son of Prayāga's sister, but he escaped and went to Sussala. Then after killing many men, the king entered the capital and gave audience to the citizens who became vexed with him without cause. Even when the king spoke reasonably, the evil-minded citizens silenced him. There is no medicine for those who are bent on rebellion.

In the meantime Somapāla, Vimba and others who were at Lohara came to Parṇotsa to fight with king Sussala. Padmaratha, king of Kāliñjara, remembered his friendship with Sussala, as he was born of the same family, and came with Kahla and others. The proud Sussala with his strong men came on the thirteenth

bright lunar day of Vaishākha and fought with the enemy. Those who have seen this great battle near Parṇotsa describe it to this day. Sussala first wiped his disgrace in this engagement. From that day Sussala's natural vigour returned to him, as the lion returns to the forest. The Turuṣhka soldiers dropped their ropes in fear and were destroyed by Sussala within a short time. Sussala also killed the maternal uncle of Somapāla in the battle on the banks of the river Vitolā. Though Sussala's army was smaller, yet he defeated the enemies, killed them and made them flee, and they impeded one another in flight. How commendable the actions of the Kāshmīrians! They fought against one of their masters, and spread evil reports of another! When Somapāla with the Turuṣhkas had gone, the shameless Kāshmīrians left Vimba and went over to Sussala. They were not ashamed on that day to bend their heads to him against whom they had openly bent their bows on the preceding day. Accompanied by the Ḍāmaras and citizens who came to him, Sussala, in two or three days, marched towards Kashmīra.

The Rajpoot Kahlaṇa, son of Sahadeva, collected the Ḍāmaras who were at Kramarājya and advanced towards the king. The same Vimba who was the first to leave Sussala's army to go over to Bhikṣhu, now left Bhikṣhu and joined Sussala. Other ministers and Tantris of Janakasiṃha's army returned to Sussala

without a scruple. One warrior born in the village of Kāṇḍiletra had begun fasting (magic) at Bhaṅgila, a lonely place; and Bhikṣhu, whose men had now come over to Sussala, came with Pṛithvīhara to overcome this man. He succeeded in his effort and then wished to destroy Janakasiṃha who was going over to Sussala. But Janakasiṃha heard of Bhikṣhāchara's intention, and being then in the capital he collected and incited many citizens, horsemen and Tantris against Bhikṣhu. Bhikṣhu knew that the tumult was raised by Janakasiṃha, and he with Pṛithvīhara suddenly intered the capital. Though Janakasiṃha was advised not to fight, still he fought with the army of Bhikṣhāchara on the bridge before Sadāshiva. There the proud soldiers of Janakasiṃha were unexpectedly defeated. Pṛithvīhara accompanied by Alaka, his brother's son, crossed over by another bridge and destroyed the enemy's army. When the citizens, the horsemen and the Tantris fled, Janakasiṃha with his friends fled at night and went to Lahara. Bikṣhu and Pṛithvīhara pursued him in the morning and at their request, the horsemen and others joined them in the pursuit. The Brāhmaṇas who were fasting (performing magic) hastily threw away the images of gods and fled leaving their work behind. Bhikṣhu did not molest those who guarded the empty temples as they told him that they had ceased from performing magic. We meet with surprise, even to this day, many horsemen who served Janakasiṃha one day and Bhikṣhāchara on the next day.

The transcient glory of Bhikṣháchara shed a lustre on the fame of his wife's brother; for to him he gave the wealth which belonged to his father Tilakasiṃha. When Janakasiṃha had fled, Bhikṣhu broke down the houses of those who had set themselves against him. When Sulhaṇa, Vimba and others had with their large armies defeated Tilaka at Hushkapura, Sussala was seen by the enemies approaching by the Lahara road after two or three days, with Mallakoshṭa, Janaka &c., and their army in front, and with many petty chieftains in his rear. The horsemen who had rebelled against Sussala issued out by the way that runs along the shops of the capital. On some of them he frowned, his eyes quivering with rage and his nose extended, some he pierced and some he killed. On the citizens who had opposed him before, and now blessed him and threw flowers at him, he looked with indifference. His coat of mail was listlessly thrown over his shoulder, his turban covered his hair full of dust, his sword rested in the scabbard, and he rode among the horsemen with their drawn sword. A garland of flowers hung round his neck; and amidst loud shouts and sounds of bherī which filled all sides, Sussala entered the capital. He returned after six months and twelve days, on the third bright lunar day of Jyaishṭha in the year 97. Before entering the kingdom, Sussala with the Lavanyas searched for and found Bhikṣhāchara who had fled to the banks of the Kṣhiptikā and with Pṛithvīhara had

gone over to the other side of the stream. Sussala met other Lavanyas on the way and returned. He entered the capital after driving out Bhikṣhāchara and capturing the wounded Siṃha, a relative of Pṛithvīhara. The capital, like a harlot, still bore marks of the enemy's possession and was therefore painful to the eyes of the proud Sussala.

Leaving Kashmíra, Bhikṣhu with Pṛithvīhara and others went to the village of Puṣ' pāṇaḍa which was in the possession of Somapāla. The king went and subdued all the Ḍāmaras and placed Malla, son of Vaṭṭa, at Kherī and Harṣhamitra at Kampana. Those who had heedlessly acted against him did not receive his mercy now. The king was extremely jealous of Bhikṣhu and could not brook any trace of him, and bestowed the country in small portions on his own servants. The Ḍāmaras who had gained prosperity by wrong means would not yield their possessions and did not give up their plans of rebellion, even through fear of the angry king. Bhikṣhu, deprived of his kingdom, lived in the possession of his friend Somapāla and was encouraged by the gifts and the honor bestowed on him by his host. Vimba, with a view to obtain help, went to Vismaya, and was there surrounded by his enemies and fell fighting. On the death of Vimba, Bhikṣhāchara adopted the policy of taking Vimba's wife into his family and felt no shame.

The hero Pṛithvīhara fell on Purapura, and though he had a small army, he defeated the son of Vaṭṭa and made

him flee from battle. When he had fled, Pṛithvī brought out Bhikṣhu again, and, at the desire of his wild followers, entered Maḍava. Joined by Marikha, Yajya and other Ḍāmaras who dwelt there, he marched to Vijayakṣhetra in order to overcome the lord of Kampana. Harṣhamitra's army was destroyed, and he left Vijayakṣhetra and fled to Avantipura. The inhabitants of Vijayakṣhetra, and of the towns and villages went in fear to Chakradhara, and that place was filled with women, children, cattle, corn, and wealth, as also with the king's soldiers with arms and horse. The mounted soldiers of Bhikṣhu thirsting for plunder surrounded the place on all sides. Protected as they were by the wooden walls around the temple and by gates, they remained in the court-yard of the temple and could neither be captured nor killed. There was a wicked and senseless Ḍāmara named Janakarāja, an inhabitant of Katisthalī, and this man had an enemy named Karpūra within the enclosure; and in order to burn him Janaka set fire to the enclosure without feeling any scruple at the destruction of so many lives. At the sight of the fire ablaze on all sides, there arose a great cry of many beings. The horses broke away from their traces and ran about in the midst of the crowd of men, and killed many of them. The sky was overcast with the rising smoke which looked like a hairy and bearded Rākṣhasa. When the smoke had abated, the flames which spread on all sides seemed as if the clouds had melted and rolled in golden waves. The

fragments of fire looked like the falling red turbans of those who were walking in the sky and running away on account of heat. The crackling noise of the bursting of large joints of wood made it seem as if the Ganges in the sky was boiling in the heat. The particles of fire rose into the sky, as if the lives of animals, in fear of being búrnt, fled into the deep firmament. The heaven was filled with the shrieks of birds whose young ones were burnt, and the earth with the cry of burning men. The women shut their eyes in fear and clasped their brothers, husbands, fathers, sons and were burnt by the fire. Those brave people among them who ran out were destroyed outside by the cruel Ḍāmaras. Those who were not burnt by the fire were thus killed there. When all within the enclosure had died, the murderers out of it were silent, and the neighbourhood in a short time became still. The fire slowly subsided and hissed on the moisture which issued from the dead bodies. The blood and fat of the dead flowed on many sides, and the smell went many Yojanas. Chakradhara was twice burnt, on the first occasion it was through the anger of Sushrava, and on this second occasion it was by robbers. This destruction of life and villages, &c. by fire was like the burning of Tripura, or the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest. On the holy twelfth bright lunar day, in the month of Bhādra, Bhikṣhu committed this great crime, and he was deserted by the goddess of Royalty and by Fortune. Many men were burnt [illegible] with their

families, and thousands of houses in towns and villages became depopulated. Maṅkha, a Ḍāmara, born at Nannāgara searched the dead bodies, and like the Kāpālikas, was gratified with the wealth found on them.

After having besieged Vijayakṣhetra, Bhikṣhāchara got possession of the person of the wicked Nāgeshvara whom he killed with tortures. What hateful actions did he not commit in the kingdom of his grandfather! The death of him who rebelled against his father, pleased all. Harṣhamitra's wife, when her husband had left her and fled, was found by Pṛithvīhara in the court-yard of Vijayesha. King Sussala accused himself as the cause of this destruction and slaughter of his subjects, and set out to fight. Janakarája died near Avantipura, in order to suffer for his sins in hell. Irrational men do not remember that they sacrifice their happiness in the future world by trying to serve their ends in this fleeting life. The king made Simba, lord of Kampana, and drove the Ḍāmaras from Vijayakṣhetra and other places. Pṛithvīhara was defeated by Mallakoṣhṭa and driven out of his country. He then went from Maḍava to Shamālā. Some of the dead bodies in the court-yard of Chakradhara were thrown into the Vitastā, some which could not be dragged were burnt.

At Kramarājya Rilhaṇa subdued Kalyāṇavāra and others; and Ānanda, son of Ananta, became lord of Dvāra. The powerful Pṛithvīhara having impaled Siṃha fought with Janakasiṃha and others on the banks of

the Kṣhiptikā. One day in the month of Bhādra, when the bones of the dead are sent to a holy shrine, the women fill all sides with their cries. But similar cries of the widows of warriors who were slain in the war with Pṛithvīhara were heard every day within the city. Shrīvaka, a gallant brother of Yashorāja's wife, returned from foreign countries and the king placed him at the head of affairs at Kherī. Shrīvaka did nothing that was obnoxious to the Lavanyas, neither did they do him any harm, and the time flowed in deep mutual friendship. In the month of Āshvina, the king again marched out from Shamālā but he was defeated by the enemies at the village of Manīmuṣha. Here Bhikṣhu who was superior to all other warriors and had gained much experience by constant wars showed uncommon valor, Tukkadvija and other principal men in the king's army were surrounded by Bhikṣhu, Pṛithvīhara and others, and killed. There were many warriors in both armies, but there was none who could go before Bhikṣhu in the battle.

In the war waged by Bhikṣhu and Pṛithvīhara, which continued for many years, there were two curious mares named Kādamvarī and Patākā; the latter was pale, the former yellow in color. Though many horses died, these animals were neither killed nor were ever wearied by their work. There was no warrior but Bhikṣhāchara who could protect the soldiers in times of danger. He was never tired, he bore every hardship, and was without

pride. In the army of Sussala there was no protector in times of danger, and for this reason many of his men were killed. When some of the Ḍāmaras sustained a fresh defeat, Bhikṣhāchara protected them, as an elephant protects his calves. None but Pṛithvīhara had risen so high, but he was in a miserable state, for he himself used to keep up every night at the door of Bhikṣhu. As Vishvedevas protect a Shrāddha, so the great warrior Bhikṣhu from that time protected the soldiers in battle both in the front and in the rear. In battle he showed his courage, and calmly and without impropriety he thus addressed his own men ;—

"I do not care for the kingdom, but there are deep stains on my reputation and I am exerting to remove them. When men are destroyed in battle, their helpless leaders feel as if their own kith and kin were destroyed, and long for aid. When I think of this, I feel aggrieved, but I am resolved to achieve my end although I thereby cause danger to my kith and kin day by day. He whose time of death has not arrived will not die,—and who that aspires after fame will, after thinking of this, turn away from acts of courage? There is no need of adopting crooked modes of action. When I have myself promised to follow the right path why should I not speak of these?" These noble and spirited words of Bhikṣhu frightened the Ḍāmaras and therefore they never tried to foment quarrels among his soldiers. Those who are born in royal families slowly receive their education before they

become king by pondering on the conduct of previous kings. But Bhikṣhu saw nothing of his father or grandfather, so when he had got the kingdom he had become vain. But if he had succeeded in becoming a king once more, even fickle Fortune would not have been fickle towards him again. He mistook in believing that the wicked deceit of the Lavanyas would be of advantage to him. He passed his days in hope of obtaining the kingdom.

King Sussala thought that the advice given by the robbers would be useful to him. Those who have a mind for conquest never give out their plans nor make a show of their valor. Sussala remembered the enmity formerly shown by the men of his party and did not protect them in battle, so they had no faith on him, and for this reason he could not win. Thus looked upon with indifference by friends and by foes, the state of the kingdom became in every way pitiable. The wild hunters, eager for revenge, set fire to trees, but they suffer thereby because the trees are reduced in number, so even he was ruined by the stupidity of his men. Benefit is derived from Fate, not from men, either friends or foes. When the kingdom was thus divided, an untimely fall of snow overwhelmed Bhikṣhu's army, and it was overcome by Sussala. Bhikṣhu and Pṛithvīhara again went to Puṣhpāṇanāḍa, and the Lavanyas paid tribute to the king and submitted to him. The hero Simba, lord of Kampana, subdued the Ḍāmaras and quelled all rebellion in Maḍavarājya.

Now when the enemies had been so much reduced, the king's zeal began to cool, and he manifested his former enmity towards the men of his own party. When the king's evil designs were rumoured, Chhaṇa fled. The king in his anger exiled Mallakoṣhṭa. Ānanda, lord of Dvāra, son of Ananta, was imprisoned and Prajji, an inhabitant of Sindhu and born in a royal family, was made lord of Dvāra by the king. The king then went to Vijayakṣhetra and with Simba entered the city, and bound and cast this faithful person into prison. The flames of his anger were fanned by his recollection of past events, and raged, unabated by the water of forgiveness, to consume his servants. The king lost his intellect in his anger and impaled Simba and Simba's younger brothers Siṃha and Thakkanasiṃha. He made Shrīvaka, lord of Kampana, and having confined Janakasiṃha, he appointed Sujji, brother of Prajji, in the Rājasthāna (palace.) Thus all the foreigners became his trusty ministers, but he who followed him to Lohara was his native faithful minister. People then became afraid of him, left him, and took shelter with his enemies. In the capital there was scarcely one in a hundred who was of his party. When the rebellion had ceased, the king by his actions fomented such a tumult as could not be remedied, and which never was put down. In an offence in which if one be reviled, other servants are likely to be frightened, there the forbearance of a prudent king is praiseworthy.

In the month of Māgha, Bhikṣhu, Pṛithvīhara, and other warriors were invited by Mallakoṣhṭa and others, and they again marched towards the city. The king believed that the spot surrounded by the Vitastā was impregnable by the enemies, and he left the palace and went to Navamaṭha. In the year 98, in the month of Chaitra, when the Ḍāmaras were eager for fight, Mallakoṣhṭa came first and commenced the war. He fought with the cavalry within the city, and the ladies of the king's household looked with fear on the battle from the top of the palace. Bhikṣhu pitched his camp on the banks of the Kṣhiptikā, as Rāma had assembled his monkeys on the shores of the sea. The Ḍāmaras brought trees from the king's garden for fuel for cooking, and grass from his stable for their horses' food. When Pṛithvīhara, after having assembled the lawless inhabitants of Maḍavarājya, began to collect an army at Vijayakṣhetra, the king took courage, and in the month of Vaishākha ordered Prajji and others to attack Mallakoṣhṭa. Prajji fell on him with valor. In this sudden attack many were wounded, made insensible and killed and some with difficulty fled crossing over the bridge. When Prajji was engaged in the battle with Mallakoṣhṭa, Manujeshvara, the younger brother of Pṛithvīhara, drove out Sujji from the city and entered it. But not being able to cross over to the other side of the Vitastā, as the bridge was broken, he burnt the houses on his side, and reached Kṣhiptikā.

Sussala thought that tne Lavanyas had taken posses-

sion of the capital and became distracted, and came with his army from Vijayakṣhetra. His soldiers, in their anxiety to precede the enemy, crowded on the bridge on the deep Sindhu and broke it. On the sixth dark lunar day of Jaiṣhṭa, the innumerable army perished in the water, as the people had perished by the fire at Chakradhara. As the king raised both hands to stop the hurry of his soldiers, some frightened men fell on him from behind, and he too fell in the river. Some men who could not swim clung to him and so he was pulled under water several times, and as his limbs were fatigued, he escaped only with the greatest difficulty on account of his great strength. The king left on the other side of the river those of his soldiers and leaders who could not cross over, and marched with the small portion of his army that had crossed. Though he left much of his army behind, he entered the capital and fought with Mallakoṣhṭa and others. Millā, mother of Vijaya, brought the army which her husband had got ready, from Vijayeshvara to Devasara. But Pṛithvīhara came up and killed her, and also destroyed Ṭikka and routed the king's army. When the whole army had fled, one Kalyāṇarāja, a Brāhmaṇa, well versed in wrestling, fell fighting in battle. There were many ministers, Ḍāmaras and leaders in the army of Sussala, many of whom Pṛithvīhara captured. He pursued to the Vitastā those who fled and captured the Brāhmaṇa Ojānanda and others and impaled them. Ministers Janaka, Shrīvaka and

others and the king's sons crossed the mountain and took shelter with the Khashas at Vishalātā. Thus Prithvīhara who was ambitious of victories gained one. He collected the Ḍāmaras and with Bhikṣhu arrived near the capital.

The war recommenced and men and horses were killed on both sides. Prithvīhara informed the soldiers of Maḍava that a certain road to the king's palace was entirely blocked up and he himself became their leader. Warriors born of the families of celebrated chieftains, as well as Kāshmīrian warriors joined the Ḍāmaras and became in every way invincible. Shobhaka and other Kāshmīrians of the celebrated family of Kāka, and Ratna and others were on Bhikṣhu's side. Under the pretence of hearing the sounds which arose from the army, Prithvīhara, excited by curiosity, counted the musical instruments; and excluding the numerous turīs and other instruments, he counted twelve hundred Dundabhī of the Chaṇḍālas.*

Although the king's army was destroyed as narrated, yet with twenty or thirty men of the royal blood and of his own country, Sussala faced the enemies. Udaya and Dhānyaka, Kṣhatriyas, born of Ichchhiṭa family, and Udayabrahma and Jajjala, lords of Champā and Vallāpura; Tejaḥsalhaṇa, the chief of the Haṃsa family, who lived at Harihaḍa, and Savyarāja and others of Kṣhatrikabhiñjikā; Nīla and others, sons of Viḍāla, born of the family of Bhāvuka; Rāmapāla of Sahaja and his young son;—these and other warriors of renowned

* Lit. men who cook dogs.

families were eager for the well contested battle, and opposed on all sides the enemies who besieged the city.

Rilhaṇa who was, as if he was the king's son, first advanced in battle accompanied by Vijaya and other horsemen. As an iron mail defended his arm, so the energetic king protected Sujji and Prajji who were well versed in battle. The king who had shared his kingdom with them was now, in this time of peril, able by their help, to sustain the weight of his misfortunes. Bhāgika, Sharadbhāsi, Mummuni, Muṅgaṭa, Kalasha and other men of the king's party harassed the enemies. Kamalaya, son of Lavarāja king of Ṭakka, took the king's side in this war. He was adorned with chāmara and banner; and his blows, like those of a spirited elephant, could not be brooked by the horsemen. His younger brother Saṅgika and his brother's son Prithvīpāla defended him on two sides, as the two princes of Pañchāla defended Arjjuna. Though the whole country was against the king, yet with these valuable allies and with the horses bought at great price, he was able to gain a victory. As the master of a house visits every room at a feast, so the king went calmly through the scenes of battles. This danger had at first frightened him, but as the danger increased, he became cool. He entered into the midst of the danger which had at first made him uneasy, and he removed it, as a man who is afraid of chill water at first, plunges into it and pushes it away by the hand. Where the enemy's army was like darkness there the royalists came like

light, and where they were like moon-beams there the latter came like darkness.

Once led by some signal, all the Ḍāmaras attacked the city together, after crossing the great river (Mahāsarit). The king's forces were divided all over the large city, but the king with a few horsemen drove them out as they entered. Thus driven, the Ḍāmaras could not gain a firm hold of the royal troops, as one is unable to catch leaves scattered by the winter breeze. Ānanda of the family of Kāka, Loshṭasha, Nala and other renowned warriors in the Ḍāmara army were killed by the king's soldiers. Lamnā was not brought before the eyes of the severe king, but the king's servants, like Chaṇḍālas, killed many people. The remnant of Bhikshu's army ascended the hill of Gopādri in fear, but the king's soldiers surrounded them on all sides and their destruction became imminent. In order to save his horses, the proud Bhikshu sent them to a place beyond the reach of arrows. Prithvīhara's neck was pierced by an arrow, and he with difficulty stood by the side of Bhikshu. There also stood two or three great warriors similarly distressed. Besieged, as a sea side rock by the waves, the army of Bhikshu left Gopāchala and ascended other hills. The king's army was led up the hill by Sussa. At this time Mallakoshṭa's infantry which had harassed many places arrived at the spot. The royal soldiers in their eagerness to follow up the enemy, left the king behind and never thought of him. The king was attacked by Mallakoshṭa,

but at the very moment when he was unable to save himself any longer, Prajji and his younger brother entered the field of battle. On the eighth dark lunar day of Āshāḍa, many horsemen arrived and the sound of their weapons told their worth. Mallakoshṭaka, aided by his son, was checked by them, as the forest fire, aided by wind, is quenched by the rains of Shrāvaṇa and Bhādra. Many fights were then fought, and there never was heroism and valor tested as on this day. The enemies thought that the army of Lohara had come, and therefore could fight no more. On that day of trouble, the king and Bhikṣhu felt each other's strength.

Prithvīhara ordered the Maḍava soldiers to keep on fighting there, while he himself marched along the banks of the Kṣhiptikā and attacked Yashorāja who had come from a foreign country, and whom the king had made lord of Maṇḍala that he might overcome the enemies. The Lavanyas had witnessed his valor in battle before in the engagement of Kherī, and they now saw his face and trembled. The king anointed him with saffron, gave him umbrella, horse &c., and raised him as high in the estimation of all as himself. As a long suffering patient trusts for his recovery to a new physician, so the king, long troubled, placed his faith on him. Against Mallakoshṭa the king employed Pañchachandra, the eldest of the surviving sons of Garga. This person was brought up by his mother named Chhuḍḍā, and his father's dependants having gradually joined him, he gained some

celebrity. The king followed by Yashorāja gained a victory over the Ḍāmaras, some of whom came over to him and some were dispersed. Pṛithvīhara with Bhikṣhu retired to his own place, and the king in pursuit of Mallakoṣhṭa went to Amareshvara. In the meantime Mallakoṣhṭa sent robbers,* by night who burnt the uninhabited capital near Sadāshiva. Again Pṛithvīhara came out several times to fight, and he was met by Prajji, Sujji and others on the banks of the Kṣhiptikā. He repeatedly burnt the houses in the capital and turned the beautiful bank of the Vitastā to a desert.

After fighting several battles in which many were killed, the king attacked Lahara with a large army. At the time of crossing the Sindhu, there being no bridge over it, and the leathern bags having burst, Kandarāja and others fell into the water and went to the house of Yama. Driven by the king, Mallakoṣhṭa went to Darat and Chhaḍḍā with her son ascended Lahara. Jayyaka, the Lavanya, brought Janaka, Shrīvaka and others from Viṣhalāṭā to the king. The king spent the summer in Lahara and on the approach of autumn went with Yashorāja to Shamālā. Ḍambha of royal blood, son of Sajja, was defending Munīmuṣha, when his soldiers fled in fear of Pṛithvīhara, and he fell fighting. In many battles which were fought in the village of Suvarṇasānū, at Shūrapura and in other places, the king was victorious and successively beat the enemy. Shrīvaka was defeated

* The Dāmaras are generally meant by the term robbers.

by Pṛithvīhara and others at Shrīkalyāṇapura and Nāgavatta and others fell in the battle.

With a view to kill the wife of Garga who was with her mother, Pṛithvīhara, in the month of Pauṣha, sent Ṭikka from the village of Suvarṇasānū to Devasarasa. She felt herself secure with her own and with the king's army, but Ṭikka came there suddenly and killed her in a fight. This shameless man thus killed a woman for the second time. Where is the difference between him and a Tiryyacha, a Mlechchha, a robber or a Rakṣhasa? The men of Lahara, when they beheld their helpless mistress killed, fled like beasts. Strange that they held arms again!

When the king learnt that Maḍava which had been to some extent pacified, had once more become disaffected, he again went to Vijayeshvara. The sons of Mallarája (Sussala's father) created dangers for themselves by their evil tongue. It has been found that servants forget real benefits done to them and remember and resent insults, just as a sieve retain the husks and allow the grains to pass through. Yashorāja who was from his boyhood used to flattering language became offended with the king for his harsh and insulting words. The vile Yashorāja was at Avantipura with a large army, and he thence marched and joined the enemy's party. On his going over to the enemies with the best part of the army, the king fled in distraction from Vijayakṣhetra. How worthless is a kingdom if its owner has to put up with insults and robbery from thieves when

running away to save his life. He fled in the month of Māgha and entered the city (capital); and when his servant named Vatha rose against him, he suspected even his own sons. He was disappointed in every Kāshmīrian on whom he relied, and he therefore placed his trust on the party of Prajji who in his valor, his charity, his sound policy and his faithfulness resembled the princes of olden times, Rūdrapāla and others. Pure in his actions, he exalted in the country, the fame of arms and learning which were almost destroyed in the troubles of the time.

Yashorāja said to Bhikṣhu: "The Ḍāmaras doubt your valor and do not aspire to obtain the kingdom. We have a large army and by creating a fresh disturbance may either conquer the kingdom or should retire to some other country." While they counselled thus, Mallakoṣhṭa heard that Chhuḍḍā was dead, and returned home from Daratpura. The new year now commenced, it was a very cruel year of troubles in which many perished, and in which one in a hundred got his meal. In the spring, the Ḍāmaras, as before, came by different ways and besieged the king in his capital; and the firm Sussala was again immersed in an endless sea of battles day and night. The Ḍāmaras well skilled in burning, plundering and fighting caused more serious disturbances and troubles than before. Yashorāja, Bhikṣhu, Pṛithvīhara and others intended to enter the capital, and remained by the Mahāsarit (great river) where none troubled them. After some days of fighting Yashorāja was killed by

his own men who mistook him for a foe. When he was displaying his valor in fighting with Vijaya, son of Kayya, a horseman of the party of Sussala, he was struck by the lance of one of his irresistible lancers, who mistook him for a foe at seeing the golden mail of his horse, and he died. It is also rumoured that he was killed by the Ḍāmaras who feared that he might give the kingdom to Bhikṣhu and then kill them. As he had by his rebellion deceived his master (Sussala) who trusted him, so was he soon killed in battle by those whom he trusted. Pṛithvīhara who had led the Ḍāmaras in battle in different places now reached the banks of the Kṣhiptikā and engaged himself in battle. The followers of Bhikṣhu who were there behaved very gallantly, and did not allow the enemy to make head. Each day was marked by fire, by battle, and by massacre. The sun became fierce, there were earthquakes several times, and terrible storms blew breaking down many trees. The dust raised by the storms seemed like pillars raised to support the sky which was rent by blows.

When the great war had begun in the month of Jaiyaṣhṭa, on the eleventh bright lunar day, the Ḍāmaras set fire to a wooden house, and the fire being either carried by the wind or lightning, the whole city was burnt unopposed. The smoke was seen to rise from the great bridge of Sākṣhikasvāmī, like an array of elephants; and then the house and Vihāra of Indradevī caught fire, and the whole city was seen in flames. Neither the

ground nor the space around, nor the sky was visible,—all being darkened by the smoke. The sun was sometimes seen and was sometimes invisible, and it wore a face like that of a drunken man. The houses which were enveloped in the darkness of the smoke were suddenly lit up in a flame, they were thus visible for one moment and were seen no more. The houses on both sides of the Vitastā caught fire, and the river looked like the sword of Yama streaming blood from both its sides. The numerous and increasing tongues of flame shot up to the sky and fell again, and looked like golden umbrellas. The flames rising to various heights, and sending forth smoke from their tops looked like the peaks of the Sumeru with the clouds resting on them. Houses were seen now and then in the midst of the flames and their foolish owners believed that they had escaped the fire. The burning houses fell on the Vitastā and heated its water, as the water of the sea is heated by the eruption of submarine volcanoes. The burning leaves of the garden trees flew into the sky with the birds whose wings had caught fire. The flames caught the white-washed temples of gods and looked like the evening resting on a Himālayan peak. Boats, floating houses and bridges of boats were removed to a distance from the town through fear of the fire, and the river was without a boat. Even maṭhas, temples, houses and palaces were all destroyed, and within a short time, the city looked like a burnt forest. When the city was con-

sumed, a huge figure of Buddha was seen without a shelter and blackened by the smoke, it stood high like a burnt tree..

The soldiers had gone to save the burning houses, and the king was left with one hundred warriors only. The bridge lay broken and the king was unable to cross the Vitastā. The enemies who were in large numbers saw their opportunity and tried to surround the king. The king meditated on the burning of his city and the destruction of his subjects, and being much depressed, he longed for the approach of death. And as the king turned backward intending to go, Kamalaya was informed of the fact by another person, and fearing that he was fleeing said "Where do you flee?" The firm king turned his face which was marked with sandel, and which beamed in a smile of anger; he stopped his horse and said. "For my kingdom I will act in a manner different from that in which the experienced, the proud king, our grandfather did in the battle with Hammīra. Wherever Harṣhadeva may be, he is our relative, he has fled without seeing the end of our work. Who among the proud abandons his country on getting into mire (difficulties) without sacrificing his person and his blood, even as a snake abandons his skin after getting into the mud? He thus said and pulled the reins, and the horse reared his head. He intended to touch the animal with both hands and raised his sword. The son of Lavarāja stopped the horse by holding the reins, though there were other attendants; he had not spoken a word

before he came to the presence of the king. The king was over-powered with blows, and Pṛithvīpāla alone came out of the room before the king in his danger. The king out of affection for him praised his courage and acknowledged that by his service he had paid off all the benefits which the king had done to him before.

The enemies who were in three companies, discharged their arrows in order to kill the king, the haughty horsemen were on the left. So situated, the king all of a sudden urged his horse and came in the midst of his numerous foes. Though attended by only a small force, it seemed as if the king multiplied himself by being reflected on the swords of the enemy, and seemed to be present everywhere. As the hawk defeats the sparrow, the lion, the deer, so he alone defeated many warriors. The passage of the cavalry being obstructed by the array of the infantry, the former fell on the latter and wounded them both by arms and by horses' hoofs. Great warriors looked red in the reflection of the flame, as if they were smeared with blood, and fell by mutual blows.

After the king had annoyed the enemy, he returned in the evening to his burnt city, his eyes filled with tears and his hopes fled. When the enemy found that the king, though reduced, could not be overcome, he despaired of success. The king too, on account of the destruction of valuable objects, held his life in small regard. At all times waking or sleeping, walking or sitting, bathing or eating, he used to issue out whenever

required by his enemies, and his enemies looked on him with tears. As all the articles of food were consumed by the fire, there occurred a severe famine in the kingdom. The stores were reduced, the produce was trifling, and the trade stopped during the long rebellion of the Ḍāmaras. The king was very much afflicted; and even the chiefs who could not obtain money from the royal treasury died of famine. The horses which escaped the fire were burnt by the hungry men who were in search of food, and were consumed every day. Men stopped their noses when they crossed the bridges over the river which emitted stench of dead bodies swollen by the water. The earth was whitened by the disjointed and scattered fleshless skeletons and fractured skulls, and looked as if she had taken the kāpālikā* vow. The people walked with difficulty, their complection was turned brown by the sun, and lean and suffering from hunger, they looked like the burnt stumps of trees.

After a few days had passed, there arose a false rumour that Prithvīhara, pierced by an arrow, had died in a long contested battle. When Prithvīhara was overpowered with wounds, the men took him to a sheltered place. But the king heard of his death and fought severely. Victory entices men with false hopes, even like a prostitute, but avoids them when they follow her. Unpropitious Fate lures with false hopes and then adds to the misery of the victim, even as the clouds, in order

* This vow enjoins the carrying of a skull.

to destroy luminous mountain plants, display their lightnings, and then leave the mountains in dense darkness.

After suffering affliction for a long time, the king awaited with anxiety the arrival of the queen. Her affection was great, her words were kind and respectful, and her frankness was becoming; these qualifications were to her as her children. But this beloved queen Meghamañjarī who was the witness of his deeds and the ornament of the house died at that time. The king then felt that there was no happiness in the world; he became dejected in spirit and found no occupation in life or in the kingdom. The queen had been reduced in health when she heard of the danger of her husband. She was anxious about him, and had set out from her home, and was coming towards Kāshmīra, when on the way near Phalapura she died of exhaustion. At first the king had hoped to see her, but then when he learnt of the catastrophe, he became very much afflicted with grief. Four great ladies of the family followed the queen to the other world in order to show their devotion. They were never harshly treated. Not being able to bear her death, a cook named Teja shewed his devotion to her by suicide and he was honored among the servants. He was also marching with her, and on the day following her death, he plunged into the river, out of devotion to her, unattended and unobserved, tying about him a stone which was near her funeral pyre. The enemies did some good to the king,

as by calling him out to battle, they made him forget his grief in his anger.

The king, who was indifferent in mind and wished to resign his kingdom brought from Lohara, his son who had just then passed his boyhood. He had made Bhāgika, Prajji's brother's son, lord of Maṇḍala and employed him at Lohara, and thus guarded the country and its treasury. When his beloved son arrived at Varāhamūla, he advanced and embraced him with joy as well as with grief. The prince was grieved, when after three years he returned to his country and found his father in that condition. With his face humbled with sorrow, he entered the ruined city (capital), as the cloud charged with water enters the burnt forest. His father crowned him on the first of Āṣhāḍa, and with tears in his eyes he taught him in the ways and policies of kings. "Bear thou the weight which is now placed on you, and which your father and your uncle could not bear; they sank under it." Over-powered by fate, the king made his son bear the royal insignia and bestowed on him his possessions. No sooner was the prince installed than the siege of towns, drought, diseases, and annoyances by robbers abated, and the earth became so full of corn that the famine was over in the month of Shrāvaṇa.

In the meantime Siṃhadeva, (the prince just crowned,) had been destroying the enemies in battle. But the king was told by informers that he intended to rise against his father. When the prince heard this, he, in his anger

and without judging rightly at first sent away from him the son Kayyā, with his friends. He had anticipated this, and he now determined to remain unshaken before his father, terrible in his frowns, and he obeyed the orders of the king. O. the next day Simhadeva, without taking food on account of grief, and much afflicted, was coming to his father inorder to gain his confidence. He was afraid that since his father's suspicion was roused, the ministers would not be able to assuage him. But his father caused him to return form the way, by false assurances. The king after much deliberation decided that he would confine Simhadeva in prison. Fie to the kingdom for which father and son suspect each other and cannot live at ease, even at night. Who can know whom the king will trust, when he distrusts his son, wife, friend and servant?

In a village known by the name of Sāhya, near Kugrāma, there lived the son of one Sthānaka, a keeper of asses. In his younger years he was brought up in tending animals and was taught in arms with the Ḍāmara boys, and he gradually became a constant attendant of Ṭikka. From the year 1, Utpala,—such was his name, was employed as messenger, and became the confidant of the king who was then trying to create a division among his enemies. The king told him to murder Ṭikka and Bhikṣhāchara, and promised to give him wealth and the house belonging to Ṭikka. Utpala too promised to commit the crime, and the king bestowed on him

large gifts and the title of Gañjapati. He for some time wavered between the hope of enjoyment and wealth and the fear of committing the murder of his master; and he could not decide whether to do or to decline the act. In the meantime his wife gave birth to a son, and the king sent her presents suited to the occasion, as if he were her father. Alarmed at this, she anxiously enquired of her husband, the reason of those gifts, and he told her every thing. "Do not rise against your master, for if you do, even this Sussala will kill you, as being the murderer of your master. On the contrary, if you can, gain the confidence of Sussala and kill him. Your master, his son, relatives and others will give you wealth," On receiving these instructions from his wife, which were contrary to his own ideas, he stopped executing his plans, and divulged everything to Ṭikka. The king was overcome by fate, and trusted Utpala who was constantly visiting him, as if he was his son. What disasters do not overtake him whose good fortune has waned? He mistrusted his son, and trusted a creature of the enemy! Or is it that fools and those blinded by selfishness do not think of danger, as those who are greedy after honey do not think of the sting of bees?

Utpala caused Ṭikka to be harassed by Prajji and humbled by the king, and made Ṭikka give up his son as hostage. The king left Devasarasa which he had conquered in the month of Kārttika and went to the

village of Vashṭuka in the province of Kherī. In the great battles which took place near Kalyāṇapura, he put to shame the great warriors Bhikshu, Koshṭeshvara &c and in the midst of the battle, he captured alive, from amongst Bhikshāchara and others, the great, the resplendant hero Sujji of the family of Kāka. The king first defeated the prosperous Vijaya and then burnt his house at Kalyāṇapura; and when Vaḍausaka was burnt, Bhikshāchara was left without shelter, and he left that place and stopped at the village of Kākarūha in Shamālā. The younger brother of the prosperous Vijaya took shelter with the king in fear, but the king imprisoned him in anger. Having placed Rilhaṇa with a large army at Shūrapura, he threatened an attack even on Rājapurī. By these energetic actions he dispersed the powerful Ḍāmaras, and there was very little left towards the subjugation of the enemies. Bhikshāchara and the Lavaṇyas found their power weakened, and their enemies gaining strength, and they thought of going to some foreign countries through fear. Some unknown misfortune fell on the party of Bhikshu, since though they lived in sadness, they appeared dead.

The king did not forget the dishonesty of Somapāla who had now returned [from his intended attack on Rājapurī] and determined to turn Rājapurī to a field of the dead, after the expiration of the cold season. When the rebellion was well nigh over, it was thought that the king was powerful enough to carry his arms to

the sea. One in a hundred of those who had rebelled now survived, and to such men a year seemed as long as a yuga. The reign of this king was grievous to all on account of the distress, fear, poverty and death of beloved friends. Success rests with Fate, and what can valor, severity and the wiles of man effect? Some people deserted him in his presence, like men shunning darkness. Some went to a distance and turned round like a lion to look at him in defiance. Some who were near slighted him, as if they were frogs who would overleap him. Irregularities were thus clearly visible. The king had depricated Uchchala &c. for having trusted others; and he lived constantly with drawn sword, even when listening to the narrations of the historians; and even when he was dallying with his wives, and he told them the tales of Viduratha &c., he did not look on them with confidence.

Who but Fate deceived him into the confidence which he reposed on Utpala as on a relative? Ṭikka and others told Utpala that if the king or Sujji happened to die, they would consider him as the murderer. Sujji never trusted Utpala, and Utpala was ready to murder the king, but found no opportunity. Now the accomplishment of his promise to the king [to murder Ṭikka,] was being delayed, and the king became angry with him. Utpala, in order to gain the king's confidence, brought his son from Devasarasa, and placed him as hostage, and told the king that he would accom-

plish his purpose through his fierce friends Vyāghra, Prashastarāja, &c. who were the king's enemies. One day he selected from among the infantry, one hundred brave men, and set out from his house. The murderer then sought an opportunity and frequently came near the king, but his purpose was several times defeated by the gift of food &c., which the king made to him. Now, there was in the capital a horse named Mandurāchakravartī which was ill. The king who loved horses sent Lakṣhmaka, son of Kayyaka, and others who were near him, to cure it. At this time the king was accompanied by a few attendants. Shṛiṅgāra, son of Lakṣhmaka, heard from his trustworthy men, of Utpala's purpose, and informed the king of it. A man whose end is nigh, regards his enemy as his friend, even when the fatal work has commenced, just as animals look complacently on the place of slaughter. The enraged Ṛiṣhi had with his terrible look and fierce expression foretold the speedy extinction of Kriṣhṇa's line, and the fulfilment of the curse could not be avoided. Who can escape what is ordained, even if he knows it beforehand? The king rebuked Shṛiṅgāra and told him that it was false. He pointed out Shṛiṅgāra to the men who were present there, and told them that Shṛiṅgāra was the son of a rebel, and that either on his own account or on the instigation of other evil men, he had called Utpala, a wicked man, as soon as he had found a suitable opportunity, in order to disturb

his (king's) peace. They smiled and hid their faces in their stupidity and said, "You have stated O! king! what we should have said." When they were gone, the king, as if slightly afraid, ordered through his doorkeeper, two or three chief warriors to remain with him. He was unsettled in mind, and so he sighed and thought of something and wept and did not care to attend dancing or singing. Laboring under a misapprehension, the king suspected his trusty men, as if they were foreigners, like one who is about to be expelled from heaven on the expiration of the period of enjoyment earned by his virtue. The friends of the king apprehended that their master was possessed by the devil. Some of them wished that he might be exorcised, and others, foolish as they were, sought other masters. Such is the fatal influence of time, that beings possessed of full knowledge of duty, forget to perform it. Utpala and others spent two days in fear, looking after opportunities.

On the third day, they who were watching for an opportunity when the king would be alone were invited by the king to dine in his house after he had performed his bath early in the morning. Having finished his daily prayer and worship and being alone, the king sent messengers at noon, to call Utpala. As the king was alone, Utpala thought that his object would now be accomplished. He came to the king, his followers being detained at the door. The king allowed Utpala's younger brother Vyāghra, who was detained at the door, to come in, while the other

attendants were told to wait outside. Some of the king's faithful men loitered there, whereupon the king said in anger that "he who remains here is a traitor." Only two remained there, the betel-bearer, an old man, and the learned Rāhila, the minister for peace and war. At this time Aghadeva and Nishṭavaishya, two spies of Ṭikka, came from him not knowing what Utpala was about. Utpala said to the king that "Sukharāja, a Ḍāmara, inhabitant of Vaḍḍautsa and a partisan of Bhikṣhu, will go about his own work after bowing at your feet." Thus for his own safe , Utpala secured the presence of the Ḍāmara along with his soldiers who were not far. Thus when the king was seated, Utpala soon caused Prashastarāja to enter, telling the king that he had some business with him. Prashastarāja on entering the room saw that there was none [capable of defending the king] either within the room or outside, and he shut the door unperceived. The king had lately bathed and his hair was yet wet, and as it was cold, he had wrapped a sheet all round his body and was sitting with his weapon resting on the seat of kusha grass. When Vyāghra saw the king in this state, he told Utpala that "such an opportunity will never occur again, so submit your prayers to the king now." After he had thus given the hint, Vyāghra, on the pretence of bowing at the feet of the king, came before him and removed the weapon from the king's seat, and drew it out of the scabbard. At the sight of this, king was amazed and cried out, "O! fie treason!" But no sooner had he said so than

he was struck on the right side and then Prashastarāja struck him on his head. Vyāghra then wounded him on his breast, and then both of them struck him several times. Utpala however did not strike twice; he thought that the first blow which had broken the king's ribs, had torn his entrails and that he was dead. Rāhila attempted to kill the enemies, but was in the meantime struck twice or thrice by Vyāghra on the back, with an instrument used for piercing elephants' ear, and he died within two or three daṇḍas. The poor betel-bearer left the place and fled, and he was saved by Utpala from his men out of pity.

When this disturbance was raised in the inner appartments, the rebellious and armed Ṭikkaka and others who were in the outer appartments commenced plundering. The king's soldiers believed that the king had killed Utpala and so they attacked the soldiers of Utpala's men who were outside. In order to give them hope, Utpala came out and showed himself besmered with blood and told them that he had killed the king with his iron club, and that they should not spare the king's soldiers. When the servants of the king heard this bad news, they fled in fear, and the rebels being emboldened remained in the courtyard. When the rebels went out of the house, they killed the powerful Nāgaka, a servant of the king, who with drawn sword was entering the door. A servant of the king, Trailokya, of the dynasty of Shākyapāla, who remonstrated against

this treason, was killed by Ṭikkaka and others who were at the door. Sahajapāla, the ornament of the line of Bhāvuka, of superior prowess among the spiritless servants of the king, ran with sword and shield; and when the rebels saw him, they went out by a side way. But this powerful man was wounded by their servants, and he fell on the ground. The shame of the Rajpoots was washed by his blood. The learned Nona went before them, and though a native of the country, resembled the Rajpoots in person, and so they mistook him for a Rajpoot and killed him. When the soldiers saw the rebels go towards the village unwounded, they did not pursue them in anger, but remained stationary like painted figures. The fat bodied Rajpoots, beloved of the king, kept themselves quiet, and crowded in the courtyard which was a while ago deserted. It has been a burden to us to speak of these cowardly men from the time of king Harṣha. We dare not pronounce the names of these sinful men through fear of contamination with their sins, and out of grief. Thinking it an act of great manliness to walk from the courtyard to the house, some of the principal men among these sinful people went to see their murdered master. They saw the king, his teeth pressed on his lower lip over which the blood was issuing and which seemed to be quivering, as if the king was giving utterance to his grief at his being deceived. He was motionless and dead, but his eyes looked as when he was alive. His face was darkened by tears, as if caused

by the smoke of the fire of his anger at the time of its extinction. There were the clear marks of sandel and saffron on his face, as if he was marked with blood from the wounds. His hai: was clotted with thick blood, and he lay naked on the ground. His hands and feet were stretched out, his neck was hanging on his shoulders. They did not do anything befitting the occasion; they only said "enjoy the fruit of being alone;" and thus reproached him. They did not take him on horse or on carriage, nor could they burn him, for they fled to save their own lives. Nor was the body placed by any one afterwards on wood and burnt; each took one of king's horses and fled; and the soldiers, as they went into villages, were plundered by the Ḍāmaras. On the way which was covered with snow, neither sons protected their fathers, nor fathers saved their sons, whether they died or were killed or plundered. There was no warrior who thought of his dignity when menaced by his enemies on the road, and did not cast away his clothes and arms. But three died bravely. They were Lavarāja and Yashorāja, two Brāhmaṇas who were well up in gymnastics, and Kāndar[illegible] Utpala and others saw from the neighbourhood, the soldiers thus fleeing and they entered the house, cut off the head of the king and took it away. When they had gone to Devasarasa, the headless king, like a murdered thief, became an object of sight to the villagers. Thus in the year 3, in the month of Phālguṇa, on the day of the new moon, was the king killed by treason, at the age of 55 years.

It was when Simhadeva was lying at ease, that the son of his nurse told him this evil news. Unarmed as he was, he felt all the anger of an armed man. Recovering from a long swoon, he regained his recollection, and impatient with grief, he lamented half aloud and half in whisper. "You, O! great king! who governed the country for me, and cleared it of all enemies, for what an insignificant cause have you died? Did the foes approach you, destroyer of enemies! when you were looking on them unarmed? You killed your enemies and thereby pleased your father and your brother in heaven; but alas! your son cannot please you in the same manner. Think not for a moment that the world is like a wilderness and that there lives none in it like Kripa, Drona and Jāmadagnya who extirpated the dynasties of their foes [to revenge the insult offered to their parents.] It is sad that grief has settled on you; O king! But I will be revenged for it. I am not sorry that the three worlds are the objects of my assault. When you beheld me, your countenance became affectionate, smiling and sweet with kind words,—that face is still before me." When he had lamented thus and more, he kept his deportment unchanged, owing to his gravity, and saw before him his father's faithful men, dumb through shame, grief and fear. His usual courtesy checked what anger suggested to him, yet he addressed them thus in harsh and reproachful words. "Perform the funeral rites, and spend riches as befits his dignity. Fie to you! Fie to arms! that all this has come upon my

father. You, honorable men, have not now been able to do what the vulgar people did when my uncle died!" When he was thus rebuking, two or three ministers came to him, and he listened what they said for his benefit. Some advised him to leave the country and to go to Lohara without delay, as they apprehended mischief in the country from Bhikṣhu, at the dawn of day. Others calmly advised him to take over to his side, Garga's son, Pañchachandra who was at Lohara, and to continue the civil war.

Now that Sussala was dead and Bhikṣhu purposed to enter the capital, none thought it advisable to remain in his own house. The ministers had no confidence in Siṃhadeva who told them that they would witness on the following day what would happen. As time went on, the king's grief for his father's death became manifest. He now ordered trusty guards to watch the treasuries &c. The city became clamorous, the dust surrounded it on all sides, and the people went hither and thither and talked to one another. All the people feared the night, as they feared demons, or, as if it was the last night of the kalpa. Surrounded by the lamps that did not flicker, there being no breeze, and by ministers who did not move, the king thus thought within himself. "My father, like a helpless man, has been murdered in a dark room without doors, while the wind was blowing hard, and I am yet alive. His death is intolerable. How shall I meet the proud in an assembly as long as this disgrace is not

wiped off? And how will the leaders of my armies come through hostile countries and roads covered with impassable snow?" Thus he meditated and gave vent to his excessive grief and fear, and the terrible night dawned after much trouble.

On the morning he went to the courtyard to assuage the citizens, and thence he despatched horsemen in search of the soldiers who had fled. The clouds touched the ground and the hollows of the road were entirely covered with snow. Those who had been sent returned, but the king could not get even the names of the soldiers who had fled. After a moment's deliberation, he published in the town, by the beat of drum, that he did not wish to get back the things which had been taken away, and that he pardoned those who were guilty, and had gone over to the enemy. When he had done this, the citizens flocked into the town from all sides and blessed the king. The proclamation which was in favor of those who had acted against the king bore its fruit on that very day. Siṃhadeva had about him less than one hundred followers only; but men from all sides now flocked round him out of love. Lakaṣhmaka obtained the post of prime minister for his kind and gentle words in presence of the king.

When the wise king had consolidated his government, by this policy, Bhikṣhu arrived with the intention of entering the capital just after midday. His army composed of Ḍāmaras, citizens, horsemen and plunderers appeared as usual. He had come to the capital, aspiring after the

kingdom, when he heard of the death of his enemy. To him Tilaka, son of Kāka, spoke thus.—"Sussala was disliked by all, but now it so happens that he is dead, why should his subjects desert his worthy son? Therefore O! king! instead of entering the capital, come let us make haste and enter Padmapura within one day, in order to obstruct the way of the enemies. The armies of Sujji and of other great warriors have fled, and they themselves are now coming. If we can kill them or capture them with their arms and conveyances, then surely within two or three days we shall be able to enter the capital. The inhabitants will themselves welcome your entry, and lay down their arms." Bhikṣhu, Koṣhṭeshvara and others said that these infirm councils were useless, and smiled and treated Tilaka with disrespect. The followers of Bhikṣhāchara believed that they had already got the kingdom, and clamoured for obtaining posts and hated delay.

Much snow had fallen by this time, which benumbed Bhikṣhu's large army when he arrived on the skirts of the city (capital.) Taking advantage of this opportunity, Pañchachandra, son of Garga, with a large army, came to the king who was then without soldiers. Pañchachandra had set out with the Rajpoots to fight in order to expiate his sin for deserting his deceased master. No sooner the battle commenced than the soldiers of Bhikṣhu, thus unexpectedly engaged in fight, saw their own men falling on every side, and soon gave way, nor

could those who were fleeing be restrained. Bhikṣhu, Pṛithvīhara and other great leaders were also, like common soldiers, struck with unusual panic. Had they been pursued by the king's followers, when they fled, surely none of them had been left alive, after a short time.

When they were routed through the prowess of the new king, Fate favored the distressed capital after a long while. The result of the contest between the two kings was different from what the people had expected. Fate hurls down some men in a moment, tying them by the leg, and lifts up others who were falling, even as a stream washes away a bank and raises another. The designs of Fate are curious!

Sujji quietly issued from the field of battle at the close of the day, like a serpent issuing from a hill, covered with forest-fire. He was in the village of Meghāchakrapura, when he heard of the late king's death; and after consultation, he stopped there for the night. He waited for Rihlaṇa and other leaders of armies at Shūrapura &c., and entered the town with them without opposition. They lighted lamps over their dwellings in the darkness, in order to convey information to the infantry as to their position. But there was difference of opinion among the infantry, they were tired and they got separated during the night, and could not reach the place. On the morning Sujji marched out, but the Ḍāmaras never left him, they hung on his rear and attacked

him here and there. But, as a cowherd protects his animals, so Sujji went on protecting his army, keeping in the front those who were with him, and there were many old persons, women and boys in his train. With fifty horsemen he turned round and stood, and was for a short while able to protect his charge. The passage was obstructed by heaps of vine creepers and many trees, and infested by his fearless enemies. He lost his men at every step. But with a wish to pay off the debt which he owed to his late master, and to his master's son who was in danger, he saved his own life. Of what use are those men who live like ravenous beasts, and who die without waiting for a fitting time. Sujji's soldiers were killed and the cruel Ḍāmaras of Khaṇḍūvī obstructed his way near Padmapura and waited there in order to kill him, as he was marching by that road. At this time Shrīvaka left the village of Kherītalālasā with a large army and came marching this way. The Ḍāmaras mistook Shrīvaka, coming with his followers, for Sujji, and fell on him and killed and plundered his soldiers. In this scuffle Meru and Sajjana, two horsemen, perished, and Malla, son of Vaṭṭa, was wounded and died in a few days. The place Udīpapuravāla had become dangerous, as the chasm there was filled with much water. Shrīvaka marched out of Padmapura, fighting as he went, his army was surrounded, and some arrows entered his throat. When he was overcome with wounds, the Ḍāmaras found out that he was not Sujji, and they

desisted from plundering him for the sake of their old friendship with Shrīvaka. The Ḍāmaras were grieved for having robbed Shrīvaka and at the death of his soldiers, and went away. Sujji's passage thus became safe, as a lion is accidentally killed by a trap, and a traveller's passage is cleared.

Sujji silently marched with his army towards Padmapura, and when he had arrived near the chasm of Udīpapura, the Ḍāmaras became aware of him. Sujji disregarded the Ḍāmaras who plundered his infantry, treasures, arms, &c., and with his cavalry crossed the chasm and reached the place where the horses could move. Now, his fear of his enemies was gone, and he threatened them by contracting his brows, shaking his forefinger and by harsh words. He took his umbrella only and with his frightened men, he hastily entered the capital, and with tears in his eyes came to the king. On the approach of Sujji who was like the king's elder brother, the king shed tears in grief, he cast off his dread of the arrival of his foes, with the tears that he shed.

On that day Ananta's son, Ānanda the great, was killed by the Ḍāmaras at Lochanoḍḍāraka while on his march. He did many good acts and could undergo hard labor. Who was not grieved at his mishap? Bhāsa, a servant of Sujji, had escaped his enemies through the virtue of the people and being weary, entered the courtyard of god Avasvāmī at Avantipura. He and Kṣhemā-

nanda who had quelled the rebellion at Kampana were surrounded by the angry Ḍāmaras of Holaḍa. Indurāja, a commander in the army, born of the line of Kularāja was also surrounded by the same Ḍāmaras, but by some pretext Indurāja obtained the protection of Ṭikka at Dhyānoḍḍāra. Piñchadeva and many other leaders of the army were besieged by the Ḍāmaras and they left Kramarājya. As when a large tree falls, the young ones of birds are thrown out of nests and are wounded and perish, so fared the followers of the king in those places. Many died in the way having no protection for their feet which were benumbed by cold, their bodies were naked and they were oppressed with hunger. At that time none were seen on the roads leading to the capital but men covering their bodies with straw. Even Chitraratha and others who were destined within short time to become great ministers, carried grass to make comfortable beds. On the second day, the clouds poured snow, and the thick shower, through which arrows could not penetrate, continued without ceasing for a moment.

Bhikṣhu was at Vanagrāma, and at that place Dhanya left his army and went to seek protection of Siṃhadeva. When the soldiers of Bhikṣhu heard that the king had treated Dhanya well, they were eager to come to the capital. Four queens took this opportunity of the enemy's weakness and set out to follow the late king to the next world. Fearing interruption, however, from an attack of the enemy, and deterred also by the exhaustion

of their servants, they could not go to the distant Pitṛikānana, but were quickly consumed near the temple of Skanda, not far from the palace. Queens Devalekhā born at Champā and her mother-in-law Taralalekhā, Rūpollekhā, and the accomplished Jajvalā born at Vallāpura, and Rājalakṣhmī daughter of Garga;—all perished in the fire. The Ḍāmaras believed that the snow fell on account of the accession of the new king to the throne, and therefore named him Himarāja.

Bhikṣhu, to whom the head of Sussala was brought, viewed it with angry looks, as if he would burn it with the fire of his eyes. Koṣhṭeshvara, Jyeṣhṭapāla and others tried to perform the last rites to the remains of the late king, but Bhikṣhu, out of enmity to the dead, could not bear it, and prevented them from this act. When the snow had ceased to fall, he intended to march to the capital, to fight. He knew that his servants sought to do him harm on account of his inaction, and he addressed them thus:—"So long as Pṛithvīhara lives, we shall be able to get the kingdom by force. We had thought that on the death of our enemy, Sussala, his successor would be in peril, but it has been otherwise decreed by Fate. Our enemy is dead, but we have not even a hope of obtaining the kingdom. I am aspiring to conquer the kingdom merely for the sake of enjoyment, for what duty could I perform, either towards myself or towards others, by obtaining the realm? He who had cast the heads of my ancestors to the ground is dead, and

his head is now rolling at my lion-gate. He had for ten months destroyed the peace of my ancestors, and I have given him similar trouble for ten years. Thus my duty has been partly fulfilled, and the grief of my mind has abated; now I wish to devote in peace, the latter end of my life to some purpose." When he had said these words and more, he went to Ṭikka who bowed to him. Bhikṣhu was pleased with him and gave him a golden vessel, a white umbrella, &c. He had confidence in Ṭikka, and his ambition for the kingdom revived; he thought on the subject, but as he had an attack of cold, he spoke nothing.

The corpse of the late king was impiously guarded [against cremation] by the Lavanya guards attached to Bhikṣhu. Sajjaka, a warrior, who lived in the city, thought of the corpse of his late master which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and moved by gratitude, he came to Vāṣhṭukā, on the pretence of seeing the body. He defeated the guards and burnt the corpse. Sussala had destroyed many of his subjects, from the year 94, under the mandates of the gods, as was learnt from those who had communion with spirits. And this was confirmed by the events which followed his death. The man who had struck off his head, and had flourished it was found dead while sleeping. Bhikṣhu lost his sense of right and wrong, on account of his inhumanity. He sent the head of the late king to Rājapurī. Uchchala's daughter, Saubhāgyalekhā, caused those

who had brought the head of her uncle to be killed by her followers; and when Rājapurī became unruly, she went to her husband, Somapāla, who was at a distance. The powerful lord of Khasha had, through indulgence in wine and in gross vices, become an object of pity, like a vulgar beast, and lost his senses. His courtiers acted properly or improperly without any restriction. Nāgapāla who lived in friendship with his brother could not brook the insult offered to the head of his benefactor; and far-sighted men apprehended defeat from the Kāshmīrians and advised Nāgapāla to perform the last rites to his master's head. Even he who has a strong party is made helpless by Death; when a lion is dead, the jackals laugh at him. At Gopālapura the head was burnt by the enemies with kāla, aloes, sandal and pine wood. Many a time had Ṣussala got and lost the kingdom, many a battle had he lost and won, and many a danger had he encountered; and his death was similarly strange. Whose remains have ever received the last rites by fire like his? The body at one place and the head at another!

Ṭikka and others loitered on their way to the capital *via* Avantipura, inorder to destory Bhāsa and others who had been besieged before. But they could not overcome the besieged by fight or by throwing stones or by fire or sword. Protected by the thick stone wall of the temple, the besieged killed the besiegers who could neither stay there nor flee from that place. In this opportunity

caused by the enemy's delay, the wise king brought over the Dāmaras of Khaṇḍūvī to his side by riches. He then sent without delay Sujji with Pañchachandra and others who took money from him, for the relief of Bhāsa and his party. But before Sujji arrived at Avantipura, Tikka and others had raised the siege, as soon as they saw the son of Kayyā and others in the vanguard. Bhāsa and his party issued out of the temple, pursued the flying enemies and killed them, and came back to Sujji.

When the powerful lord of Kampana entered the capital, Indurāja with his followers left Tikka and came thither. The king made Chitraratha, Shrīva, Bhāsa and others lords of Pādāgra, Dvāra and Kherī; even Sujji who had not given up the duty entrusted to him had to wait on the pleasure of the Pratīhāra, what shall I say of other ministers! The Pratīhāra who was in the confidence of the Dāmaras created dissensions among the parties, and was an object of regard of the king. There was not one among the enemies who at the bidding of the Pratīhāra did not come or wish to come under the protection of the king. The wily king who was ill at ease did not even take his meals but at the desire of the Pratīhāra. Thus the Pratīhāra became powerful in the capital; but his policy which had wellnigh succeeded was defeated.

Bhikṣhu had collected all the Ḍāmaras at Vijayeshvara with the intention of taking the capital at the end of

the winter. The Ḍāmaras saw the union of their army such as was never seen before, and they feared that the kingdom would come to the possession of Bhikṣhu. They began to deliberate whether Somapāla would not rise in rebellion after seeing the strength, valor, friends and foes of each party, and whether he would not create a division in his own party at the time of the attack with the prospect of getting the kingdom. Thus meditating, they privately sent messengers to Somapāla, with the view of giving the kingdom to him, and he also sent messengers to them. The Ḍāmaras looked on Somapāla as a beast on account of his defective person and his behaviour; and they believed that by his possessing the kingdom they would become masters. In this most sinful country, the object of the plunderers who were excited by the greed of enjoyment was frustrated through a mere chance. Is he who is unfit even to be a servant, who is ashamed of good habits, at all able to govern the country? Can he who frightens the sparrows by burning grass in order to protect the shāli crop, and in doing so, burns his own face, protect the forest trees which are broken by wild elephants? Somapāla's messenger who would not do any harm to Bhikṣhu, raised money from the Ḍāmaras on false pretences.

In the month of Vaishākha, Sujji commenced his operations. He hastily issued out of the capital and came to the banks of the Gambhīrā. His encounter with the enemies was glorious, for he routed all the warriors

engaged in battle. It is so ruled by destiny, that in battles where courage is displayed, sometimes one man conquers a hundred thousand, and sometimes a hundred thousand conquer one. There was no bridge over the river, and Sujji could not cross it, but saw the enemies on the other side discharge their arrows. For two or three days, both he and the enemies remained unmoved on the banks of that river; those who were clad in mail looked for weak points in other men. The bridge was then made with the boats brought from Avantipura. Sujji crossed the river with his horse on a boat. When the soldiers of the enemies saw Sujji reach the other side, they moved, as the trees do in a wind. In order to see their movement, Sujji ascended the bank. In the meantime the bridge was completed, his soldiers crossed over to the other side and the enemies fled. Of the fleeing army not one swordsman or horseman or spearman or bowman could look behind. The strap of Koshṭeshvara's horse got loosened and his saddle became loose, so that the horsemen waited for a short time. When the saddle was tightened, and Sujji pursued them hotly, they soon disappeared, like dust driven by the wind. The enemies whose soldiers were killed, robbed and overturned, collected their shattered forces at Dhyānoḍḍāra and other villages. Bhāsa who was in the van crossed the bridge over the Vitastā at Vijayesha and caused the robbers to flee.

The enemies stopped that day at Vijayakṣhetra and then on the day following, they went to the lord of

Kampana leaving Dhyānoḍḍāra behind. At this place Sujji stopped for a few days, and was going towards Devasarasa, when the relatives of Ṭikka, on account of some difference with Ṭikka, came out and joined Sujji. Sujji entered Devasarasa and set up Jayarāja and Yashorāja, principal men among the sons (clan) of Bhojaka, in place of Ṭikka. Owing to the sharp pursuit made by Sujji, Bhikṣhu and others were dispersed, and they went to Shūrapura. Koṣhṭeshvara and others went to their respective countries. The messenger of Somapāla fled in great terror and spoke ill of Somapāla saying "where on earth did this son of a servant-woman send me"? The messenger thought that Somapāla's aspiration which could be attained after great effort, was like the wish of a jackal to do as a lion does. Within a few months Sujji pacified the kingdom which had for a long time been distracted owing to the carelessness of the king, and bestowed it on the king's son. The king tried by gifts to bring over to his side Shamāla and other great Ḍāmaras and the citizens who were in favor of Bhikṣhu. But they by common consent decided first to test the power of the king and then to decide what they should do, and so they fought against the king. As the dance of dancers can be seen through a screen, so the movements of the soldiers was visible through the dust. Many warriors perished in the battle which took place at Dāmodara. Sahajapāla set at liberty his father who was captured by Koṣhṭeshvara and obtained great glory

along with his men. In this battle both the king and Bhikṣhāchara labored very hard, but the latter saw that his defeat was clear. From that day the soldier who was found on the morning in Bhikṣhu's army was not found there (*i e* deserted) in the evening; and he who was seen there to-day was not found the next day.

When the Ḍāmaras and the citizens deserted the enemy and went over to the king and received befitting rewards, Manujeshvara and Koṣhṭa, both of whom aspired after reward from the king and wished for his friendship, quarreled between themselves, each wishing to go over first to the king. Bhikṣhu heard of this from the sooth-sayers, collected his attendants, and set out in the month of Āṣhāḍa intending to go to some other country. The Ḍāmaras who followed him could not assuage his anger with pleasant words, nor make him turn back. The vicious Koṣhṭeshvara,—himself a prostitute's son,—longed for the very beautiful wife of Bhikṣhu. But who could touch his wife, or hold the mane of an angry lion, or the jewel in the hood of a serpent, or the flame of the fire? When Bhikṣhu asked Somapāla for shelter, he did not give it, because he had made his peace with the son of Sussala. The victor had every where made attempts to kill Bhikṣhu, consequently Bhikṣhu went to Sulharī, crossing over an unapproachable tract of that country. "There is kindness in Trigartta, good behaviour at Champā, gifts at Madramaṇḍala and friendship at Dārvvābhisāra. When you stay away, the king,

relieved of fear, will oppress the Ḍāmaras. They will then gradually welcome you and make you king." Though the ministers told him that it would be well for him to ask the help of the people for the conquest of the dominion of Naravarmmā, Bhikṣhu did not accept their counsel; he adopted the advice of his father-in-law, and his servants left him on the plea that their families at home were anxious for them.

The Ḍāmaras, in the splendour of their wealth, entered the capital, like the procession of a bridegroom, in an auspicious moment. When the people saw that each of them had a horse and an umbrella and was more than a king, they regarded the forbearance of the son of Sussala as cruelty. Koṣhṭeshvara in whom centered greatness, form, youth, dress and beauty was the special object of sight of the women. The country in which the civil war ceased, became now the scene of festivity and rang with the sound of music of the many Lavanyas (Ḍāmaras) who came in there. Lakshmaka too brought to the king Kṣhīra and others with a large army from Maḍavarājya. The king loved the Pratīhāra, and the king's parasites therefore thought it a great favor if they could gain entrance within the Pratīhāra's door. The Lavanyas plundered the villages and a great famine ensued in consequence and which caused a great expenditure to the king. While the people suffered out side the capital, the king took into his pay some of the Ḍāmaras who lived within the capital and increased his own staff. The king gave

befitting punishment to Tippa, Vaishyārdhadeva and others, his kindreds; who had rebelled against his father. Within four months from his father's death, the present king reigned supreme in the realm. The citizens were powerless in the capital, but many king-like Ḍāmaras spread themselves over the country.

Not far, the powerful enemy remained firm, and both in and out of the court, the nobles from ministers to feudatory chiefs leagued with him. At that time there was none in the palace who could give good counsel; all the servants were rebels and addicted to vice. Those who know traditions ought to remember now the events which took place in the beginning of the reign of the king in order to understand what happened afterwards. While we are treating on the subject of this meritorious king, we will, by way of example, briefly say something about him though it has been told several times. The kings whose histories were told before from traditionary accounts, were not well understood; but we shall be able to judge rightly the qualifications of this king whom we have seen. A man is not able to judge another, how then can one judge a king who is more than a man? Like an affectionate wife, the poet shares the prosperity and adversity of the king. Such a poet who loves all men and whose name is mentioned with that of the king, cannot judge of the extraordinary character of a king, as he is blinded by his misguided intellect. When once he has assumed what is right and what is wrong,

how can he afterwards arrive at a correct judgment? There are traits in the character of this king also which are not intelligible, and I reckon them as faults because I cannot comprehend their purport and aim. The lightning which dazzles the eye, expands some objects; the loud and long peal of thunder gives birth to certain herbs; thus no action of the cloud is without some benefit to some object or other; but ignorant men see no other quality in the cloud save that it rains. After hearing of the more than human qualifications of this king whom we have seen, we will believe the deeds of the kings who were. He made the kings tremble without moving from his place, as elephants which support the earth shake the mountains by moving their hair. The army of his enemy and the other kings were in secret afraid of him, even as sea-bears are secretly afraid of the submarine fire. He is the sun among kings, and by his light the moon like fame of former kings became hid in the earth. They who see him think that they behold before them the reflection of a god. He never takes back whatever he gives save that he withdraws from his enemies, after their submission, the fear which he had imparted to them before. When he holds up his sword there stands nothing before him but his own reflection; and when he raises aloud his voice no other sound is echoed. His words are sharp in time of anger and mild when he bestows a favor, as the two edges of a sword are respectively sharp and blunt. As the leaves of the kalpa tree retain

their beauty for ever, so the dependants of the king shine in lasting fortune.

The people knew that the king's ministers were wise and possessed unlimited nobility of soul and power, and they served them in every way. But the Pratīhāra could not brook the advancement of other ministers, as the eṣha herb cannot bear the growth of trees by its side; and he rooted out all the ministers except Janakasiṃha, like grass. Janakasiṃha had served the king from childhood and knew his habits and he could not therefore be ruined. Janakasiṃha wished to establish peace with the king by a marriage alliance, but his son Chhuḍḍa was disgraced on account of his pride and insolence. The king watched for slight faults, and he hated both the father and the son for the behaviour of the son, and became angry with both of them. Both Janakasiṃha and the Pratīhāra became very haughty in the reign of this king, as they were both of the same age with the king and were well known to the queen-mother. They knew not to act according to the time. In the capital they used carriage and pair, and in bath and food and furniture they behaved like the king. It is ridiculous to live in the same style with one's own master, because they all attained prosperity through him. It is like the attempt of the frogs to overleap the tall lotus stock. The enemies of Janakasiṃha and of the Pratīhāra biased the king against them and against all their party; and made them appear in the eyes of the king, as a portrait of envy drawn on the wall.

At this time, in the month of Shrāvaṇa, the grateful king went to Vijayeshvara to welcome the victorious lord of Kampana. In the meantime Utpala who was coming from Piñchadeva at Shūrapura was murdered by the lord of Draṅga in a mountain cavern. He was returning from Pushpāṇanāḍa in order to serve Piñchadeva, when he was found out by the lord of Draṅga who was secretly looking out for him. But the lord of Draṅga was thrown on the ground and was on the point of death. His knee was pierced with arrow. He killed a soldier of the enemy's party whom he found by him.

The king, after he had bestowed favors on the lord of Kampana, was on his return. He stopped at the gate of Avantipura when Sūra of Draṅga bowed to him. He was the scourge of his enemy,—he assuaged the anger and the grief of the king. In his first expedition he destroyed his enemies, and the people thought that he had exterminated his foes. When he entered the city, some of the guilty men fled, and Janakasiṃha and some others were thrown into prison. Koshṭeshvara and others became his [Sūra's] enemies, through fear of the king. In the month of Kārttika, the accomplished king went to Shamālā, and there by fierce fighting, he harassed the unfriendly villages. The village of Hāḍi, where the power of king Sussala and others had been broken, was burnt by the powerful Sujji.

Oppressed by the king, Koshṭaka and others invited Bhikshāchara who was ambitious of obtaining the kingdom

and he came again. In one day he traversed fifteen yojanas and reached the village of Shilikākoṣhṭa situated on the hills. Eager after conquest, Bhikṣhu did not mind the trouble which arose from hunger, thirst, fatigue, fear of enemies and travelling, but remained silent. He who is opposed by Fate in his desire to conquer sees his endeavours bear contrary results, even as a banner is borne backward by the wind although the car runs forward. Some succeed in their work as soon as they commence it; while others fail though they be assiduous. The Amṛita was brought up from the sea in a moment by the hill Manthara, although the Himālaya, though long used for the purpose, failed in the attempt. The river running from its source falls into the sea, although flood-tides seem to roll the water backwards; even so the man whose Fate is adverse, struggles in vain against his fall. Even at the time of Bhikṣhu's prosperity, adverse Fate worked against his success. At this time the younger brother of Pṛithvīhara was defeated; his finger was cut, and not knowing the approach of Bhikṣhu he took shelter with the king. Koṣhṭeshvara and Pṛithvīhara went to Bhikṣhu and there remained like two serpents made inert by charm. They led Bhikṣhu to another place and assuaged the fatigue of travelling. He then went to Sulharī by the way leading to Kārkoṭadraṅga. Arrived there, Bhikṣhāchara, in the excess of his pride, kept himself warm with the thought of attacking Kashmīra. As the water which has increased

in bulk seeks to enter some cleft, even so did Bhikṣhu for an opportunity. But the king on the other hand entered the capital and devised means to oppose Bhikṣhu's plan.

The first minister, the Pratīhāra, unable to bear the pride of Sujji, began to find some pretext against him. Now at this time, the elder brother of Dhanya had purified himself by bathing in the Ganges, and returned to this country, and came to the king when he was walking alone. He and his party were welcomed by the king who talked long with them. But they had no appointments and were oppressed with anxiety. In time of work, the king depended on his father's ministers, but they too had their hidden purpose, and they waited for opportunity. The Pratīhāra who was bent on ruining the great Sujji persuaded them that violent acts were commendable. When a few months had thus passed away, it so happened that the king was suddenly attacked with an inflammation caused by the urine of spider. The life of the king being endangered by boil, intumescence, diarrhœa and indigestion, the country was thrown into anxiety. In this state lay the sole king of the realm; and there the powerful enemy and the Ḍāmaras on the side of the enemy believed that the kingdom had become weakened. Now Sujji with the view of preserving the [reigning] dynasty, and after deliberating what should be done, thought of crowning Parmāḍi, son of queen Shrīguṇalekhā, who was then a little under five

years old. He consulted with Garga's son, the maternal uncle of the boy. The Pratīhāra got hold of this pretext against Sujji and thus told the king :—"Now that you are in this condition, Sujji with his son, is today constantly holding council with Pañchachandra and others with the purpose of rising against you." Dhanya and others also spoke to the king to the same effect, and the king too believed it. Clever men try to excite the curiosity by describing strange things, and kings are mostly like children of little sense, and are easily led. Their understanding is not guided by rules. The born slaves who are like evil spirits, who live in dirty places and who are adept in deceiving, enter into the minds of senseless men and possess them. How can good proceed from a king thus possessed? The rogue comes to the king with smiles which have no meaning, and the king with smiling eyes asks him his purpose. His purpose is dark, and at times he says something which is injurious to all honorable men, and which falls like thunderbolt on the honor, the life and the merits of the proud. Such a favourite who comes and leaves according to the gestures of the king, who speaks at random to his master, looks on the world with supercilious eyes of contempt and understands favors and frowns by the movement of the muscles of the king's face, is deserving of contempt. Will there ever be a king whose intellect is well balanced, and is not moved by the cunning people, like a puppet on a machine? Ignorance of the minds of

servants has ruined all. O! Fie! that owing to the sins of subjects such a source of evil is not removed.

Sujji, as before, came to enquire whether the king was recovering But when he saw the guards stationed, he thought that he was suspected and was sad. He saw in the king, as if reflected in a mirror, that the royal favor was against him, and he went back. In his disappointment he came less and less frequently to the palace, and the king's favor which was on him was removed. Even Sujji's servant, the wily Chitraratha, son of a court Brāhmaṇa, did Sujji harm, and accompanied his act with words of an injurious character. When the king recovered, Sujji out of etiquette came to the palace, and was seen to distribute wealth to the people, and afterwards to go towards the houses of the beggars. But the king did not favor him but devised plans to attack him. Sujji had a large body of retainers. The king then judged that if he deposed Sujji from his posts, his followers would become broken-hearted and would desert him, and he bestowed Sujji's posts on others without delay. He gave the government of Rājastháṇa (palace) to Dhanya, Kampana to Udaya and the office at Kherī to Rilhaṇa.

The king by taking away from Sujji his possessions plainly showed that he no longer felt for Sujji as he used to feel before. Sujji's followers became few and he himself apprehended evil. This proud man, thus insulted, went out of the capital with the bones of king

Sussala in order to proceed to the river Ganges. Out of love for the king, Sujji asked his permission for undertaking this journey; and when he set out, neither the king nor his officers prevented his going. With a view to parade his pride, the Pratīhāra, when sending Sujji to exile, sent his own son to protect Sujji's wealth. It grieved Lakṣhmaka to find that the Pratīhāra thought that it rested with him to punish or to favor, so that the Pratīhāra sent his son as a protector. Lakṣhmaka returned from Dvāra and went to Parṇotsa without rising against the king; and then drove Bhāgika from the hills of Lohara. The Pratīhāra sent Prema, son of the (king's) nurse, to the king, and the king bestowed the possession of Koṭṭa on him. Lakṣhmaka left Lohara and thereby removed the fear of the king, and spent the fierce summer season at Rājapurī. The king who had under him the Ḍāmaras, and could raise or put down the ministers like balls, appointed Lakṣhmaka at Dvāra, in order to set up a rival to Sujji and also for the safety and dignity of his dynasty. Thus the king enviously believed that the valorous Sujji, born in this country and fed from his treasury, would deprive him of his glory. By this appointment at Dvāra, Lakṣhmaka was made uneasy and became an object of ridicule, as he wandered about in the road with men armed with sword. No unworthy person can walk in the footsteps of the worthy, nor can the unworthy be invested with the merits of the worthy. Mahādeva besmears his feet with the ashes of the burn

ing dead, where he should have applied sandal, and though he can create and uncreate the three worlds, yet he cannot make the ashes smell like sandal. Lakshmaka was unable to bear Sujji's rivalry, and the king sent messengers to bring Sañjapāla from the foreign country. As there was no warrior in the country, even Koshteshvara, who ought to have been hated, became, on account of pressure of work, the favourite of the king. The king was pleased with him and gratified him with gifts, and he now became the trusty servant of his sovereign. But Koshteshvara was attacked with lūtā* and remained in the city.

Thus when the king was bringing together those whom he should have punished, Somapāla and others induced Sujji to change his mind. The insulted Sujji determined to conquer Kashmīra, which was as easy of performance as to uproot a creeper; and he promised to give the kingdom to Somapāla. Somapāla promised to marry his daughter and his sister's daughter to Sujji. In the mean time the king tried to overcome the difficulty with sweet words and gifts. Rabhasa and another, both foolish men, prevented the marriage of king Somapāla's daughter with Sujji, and thus their enemy gained an advantage. Influenced by the artifices of Jayasimha and frightened by some omens, Somapāla became indifferent towards Sujji. The Pratīhāra himself came and brought the daughter [of the king of Kashmīra]

* An inflammatory disease.

to the frontier province for marriage with the king of Rājapurī (Somapāla). Somapāla married the king's daughter named Ambāputrikā, born of the great queen Kalpanikā. When this marriage was over, the wise Pratīhāra married Somapāla's sister's daughter named Nāgalekhā to the king. Thus when the two kingdoms were united in peace, Sujji found no other opportunity, and in the beginning of winter went towards the Ganges. At Jālandhara, Sujji, spoilt of his glories by the deep insult he had received, met Jyeshṭhapāla who induced him to come over to the side of Bhikshu. "When you and Bhikshāchara," said Jyeshṭhapāla, "become leaders of the same army, neither Vishṇu nor Indra would be able to stand before you. You bestowed the kingdom on the king who has insulted you; on him and on the man who now occupies your post we will have our revenge." Thus induced, Sujji was inclined to go to Bhikshu who was with Deṅgapāla, but was prevented by Bhāgika who was somewhat agitated and advised him not to take that step so long he had not consigned the bones of his master in the waters of the Ganges. "After bathing in the Ganges I shall come to you." Thus promised Sujji and took money with him and went after his present task.

The king had placed all cares of government in the hands of the Pratīhāra and did not attend to the duties of his post. He felt, however, that the kingdom was going wrong. The Pratīhāra had established peace with

those who had rebelled against the king and was always near his sovereign, and looked down on him, as if he favored the king. He who is audacious ought to be punished, so thought the lord of Kampana; and he killed the proud and haughty son of Kāliya through some artifice. Lakṣhmaka kept in check all the Lāvanyas (Ḍāmaras) who were unfaithful, restless and going astray, and also the lord of Kampana. On the other hand, Bhikṣhāchara deliberated how he should proceed against Kāshmīra as long as Sujji did not return after performing his bath in the Ganges. But soon learning that the Ḍāmaras had fallen out with the king, he entered Viṣhalāṭa on the approach of winter. At the time he entered Maṇḍala, the Pratīhāra and Mantu secured the Ḍāmaras and thus obstructed his entrance. But Ṭikka who was the object of great enmity of the king, owing to his treason against the king's father, brought in Bhikṣhu, and all the Ḍāmaras met together and expressed their joy. Bhikṣhu awaited the arrival of Sujji in order to snatch the kingdom, and stationed himself, fearing nothing, in the fort named Vāṇashāla which was small height and belonged to Bhāgika, lord of Khasha, and son-in-law of Ṭikka; and he caused all the Ḍāmaras to rebel against the king by means of spies. Now Sujji, after he had bathed in the Ganges, returned to the joy of his friends and the terror of his enemies. "If these two persons,—Bhikṣhu who was formerly wronged, and Sujji,—join together, the king will have as

much cause for apprehension as we." Thus thought Somapāla, and he was struck with fear, and when asked by Siṃhadeva, he shewed some indications of performing what he promised to Sujji. When Sujji reached Jālandhara, on the evening previous to the morning on which he was to go to Bhikṣhāchara, a messenger came to him from Somapāla. Advised by Jyashṭhapāla, but prohibited by Bhāgika, Sujji relied on the words of the messenger and did not join the enemy. "The king (of Kāshmīra)will pay the debts you have incurred in the foreign countries, and if I ask, he will restore to you your possessions." In this way Somapāla daily urged Sujji through his messenger, and Sujji abandoned his intention to join the enemy and went towards the country of Somapāla.

Udaya, lord of Kampana, crossed over the Saṅkaṭa in the month of Vaishākha and fought a battle with Bhikṣhu who was attended by the Khashas. At first Udaya had few soldiers with him, but when his army increased, Bhikṣhu entered the fort which was besieged. Now the king went to Vijayakṣhetra and swelled the army of the lord of Kampana by sending some squadrons. The king's soldiers discharged stones by means of engines, showered arrows and hurled various weapons. Those within the fort fought by throwing stones. On account of the stones which fell on the infantry,—and which were marked with the name of Bhikṣhu,—the king's army could not take the fort. When a month and a few days had passed away, the besiegers took possession of

the base of the fort and the moat on which a rice crop stood. When those who were in the fort,—and there were females with them,—saw that the king was trying to take the fort, they intimated to him their desire to turn against his enemy and asked for wealth. The king with a view to capture the fort sent the Pratīhāra with the feudatory chiefs, the Ḍāmaras, the ministers and the Rajpoots. Koṣhṭeshvara, Trillaka and others determined to relieve Bhikṣhu who was in peril, and went after the party of the Pratīhāra. The Pratīhāra viewed from the top of the Saṅkaṭa hill, the small height of the fort (Koṭṭa) and also the innumerable army on his own side, and he felt confident of capturing the fort. The followers of the Pratīhāra who had been near the fort before him wished to storm Koṭṭa with the whole force, and on the next day the fight commenced. But the beseiged began to shower stones in such a way that the besiegers became convinced that the fort could not be taken by force. Struck by the stones, the heads of the soldiers were severed from the bodies and fell with streaming blood, even as black bees fall, with dripping honey, from trees. The foolishness of Koṣhṭeshvara now became manifest and was the cause of the destruction of himself, of Bhikṣhu and of the Lavanyas. He fought with the utmost rashness in order to show that he had no equal among warriors, and his rashness cost Bhikṣhu his life. At this moment of danger, the Khashas intended to rise against Bhikṣhu, but Bhikṣhu told them that

he and Koṣhṭeshvara were inseparable, and that the Ḍāmaras under Koṣhṭeshvara were obedient to him; and if the large army went to battle without him and Koṣhṭeshvara, it would be overcome. He thus addressed them and appeased them, but the result was different from what he had expected. The Khashas concluded that when Koṣhṭeshvara, the object of Bhikṣhu's trust turn round to be his enemy, what reliance or faith could Bhikṣhu repose on others?

The wise Lakṣhmaka was induced by the state of affairs to promise employment in his own house to Ṭikka who had risen against the king's father. He also promised large villages and gold &c. to the chief of the Khashas and induced him to come over to the side of Bhikṣhu's enemy. Ānanda, brother of the wife of the Khasha chief, once more brought Ṭikka before the Pratīhāra after a personal communication. When the Ḍāmaras saw Ṭikka leagued with the Pratīhāra, they thought that Bhikṣhu had been deserted by Koṣhṭeshvara and others; they then assembled together and sent messengers with much wealth and with promise of gold to the Khashas for the delivery of Bhikṣhu to them. They thought that the Khashas would accept the bribe and deliver over Bhikṣhu to them. They would then set him free, and Bhikṣhu and others would be assured of their safety.

Now, Deṅgapāla said to Bhikṣhu that Jayasiṃha who was then at a distance had obtained possession of the

kingdom, and as he was angry with him he would kill him. Bhikṣhu thought that Deṅgapāla should attach himself to some party and he replied accordingly. The Ḍāmaras advised Bhikṣhu to flee to Phalapura, breaking open the privy. But Bhikṣhu who possessed a noble heart refused the advice because he thought that the people would speak ill of him, and say that he had fled like a dog, through the privy hole, with all his limbs covered with unclean things. Koṣhṭeshvara, whose dealings were always open,. used harsh words towards the soldiers in order to raise a commotion among them ; but the Pratīhāra who understood his motive pacified them. When the Khashas gave hostages, the Pratīhāra and others attempted to kill Bhikṣhu from the morning. The king who was at Vijayakṣhetra learnt how the matter stood from the messengers who were constantly going to and coming from him, and became anxious. The people said among themselves.—" The old king who fought great battles could not kill Bhikṣhu in ten years, but these warriors think, now that the king is young, they can destroy Bhikṣhu ! It is impossible. The Khashas surely will, within a short time and with ease, snatch the wealth from the king's party, and the king's party will surely be broken and robbed by others and shall have to go away ; Koṣhṭaka, who is the friend of Trillaka, will part from the king's side, and there are many in the king's party who have been brought up in the charity of Bhikṣhāchara. What new man has come who will do the king

this benefit? The circumstances, as before, favor Bhikṣhu's success." While the people were talking thus in the camp, the ministerial army with drawn weapons surrounded the fort. The people remarked that it was a shame that in order to kill this Bhikṣhu who was alone and suffering so long, so many shameless soldiers have got themselves ready. The sea-like army, with weapons moving as waves, and the eyes of the soldiers glancing like fishes, became still. And in the last extremity when Bhikṣhu of wonderful valor took up arms, the people wondered whether he would fly into the sky, or like a deer leap clean over the soldiers or scatter the army, like drops of rain.

Thus far the ministers succeeded, when matters were about to take an unfavorable turn. Through the power of the king, however, the disadvantage was removed and the object accomplished. When the soldiers were looking for Bhikṣhāchara to come out, a man with drawn weapon issued from the fort. He was surrounded by women who were weeping, and on his back some people threw garments dyed with safflower, which fluttered over their persons. One said that it was Bhikṣhu who was arrested in his attempt to escape, but he heard that the person who was going out was Ṭikka. As Ṭikka had instigated the great war between the king and Bhikṣhu, he feared death either from Bhikṣhu or from the followers of the king, and so he was making his escape. In order to make the people believe that he was not against the king,

he drew his sword with his own hand with the intention of thrusting it into his own stomach, but his followers prevented him from doing so. Turning aside from the road, he passed the king's army with his followers and sat by a fountain on a hill not far off. Urged by the Ḍāmara soldiers who joined him after a long time,—and for which he was very glad,—he now came out of the fort and began to employ his wiles. "It is evening, give respite to Bhikṣhu for a short time, and at night the Ḍāmaras will complete the work." When he had said these severe words, the Khashas who had given hostages left the side of the ministers and opposed the enemies who were then scaling the fort. The ministers were astonished to find themselves suddenly attacked by the soldiers clapping their hands and making noise. The ministers released the rebels who were imprisoned and gave them wealth for the advantage of the kingdom; but none of them accomplished the object. Seeing the day about to expire and the king's purpose* not yet attained, Lakṣhmaka made enquiries of the hostage [Ānanda] the brother of the Khasha chief's wife. He replied that even the lewd woman can control her desire, but who can, when [Ṭikka] is near, control the Khashas? Lakṣhmaka then told Ānanda to go and prevent the Khashas from acting in a hostile way, and sent him out while the other ministers laughed.

* The apprehension of Bhikshu.

The experienced king, who remained in the house of Deṅgapāla, near the waterfall of Vishalāṭā, had guessed that it would come to this. He was himself devising an elaborate plan for this purpose. He now took with him the brother-in-law of the chief of Koṭṭa. When this confusion took place, the soldiers became bold and [alluding to the release of Ānanda] said that the bird when let loose escapes to its nest. The king directed that so long as his work was not accomplished, his followers should not indulge in merriment but should take courage. "Should ruin come,"* said he, "what will be the good of killing the brother-in-law of the Khasha chief?" Ānanda, the brother-in-law of the Khasha chief, with unabated good fortune, had driven all away from the top of the fort and called on the Tīkshṇas and others. When the Tīkshnas climbed the hill side, the lives of the enemies were near their end, the minds of the ministers were troubled with anxiety and the gladness of the wives of their party rose to its climax. Clad in a small piece of leather, Ānanda discharged the arrows marked with the name of his master's son, and thereby spread his name abroad. And as he chewed the betels, the only strength the followers of Bhikshurāja had in their dying condition was to tie their beards and hair together [a sign of humiliation?] When Ānanda found his men were all safe, he pursued the enemies who were anxious to take refuge

* *i. e.* If Bhikshu escapes.

in the tent of Koṣhṭeshvara. Ṭīkka saw himself over matched by the horsemen who were sent one by one by Lakshmaka and cut off one of his fingers in fear. At this opportunity the Khashas who feared lest Ṭikka would run away, kept him under guard and this grieved him very much.

Bhikṣhu was anxious to fight and became uneasy at the delay made by the Tīkṣhṇas and diverted his mind by playing at dice. When the Tīkṣhṇas arrived in the court yard of the house in order to fight, Bhikṣhu rose and acted what little it was left to him to act in this life. He rose from his play [with the utmost coolness], as one who was playing with his wife rises at the approach of a friend. "What is the use of killing many people today" thought he to himself and leaving his bow and arrow, he set out with his sword. Bhikshu's long black hair had become white owing to his great anxiety, and his torn clothes fluttered like colored banners. The marks of sandal were on his cheeks, and the reflection of the ear-pendant danced on them, as if it were the smile of pride. As the end of his checkered career drew nigh, his footsteps became unsteady and the veils of his wife which lay torn marked his footsteps. The white cloth over the safflower-colored garment on his shoulder made him appear like a lion with its mane erected. He walked round quickly yet solemnly and gracefully. His eyes, mind, hands and feet were all directed at one object,—*viz.* to secure captives. He was like justice

among just men, the ornament of pride, he was like the undying prosperity of honorable things. The eager people looked on Bhikṣhu but he came so fast that his approach could not be marked, and he walked before the enemies. Kumāriya of royal blood, grandson of Madhu, and Raktika, elder brother of Jyeṣhṭhapāla, followed him. The enemies were entering the fort through buildings high and low, and in order to oppose them, Gārgika, a follower of Bhikṣhu, discharged a shower of arrows and stopped them. They who were running forward felt the arrows from Gārgika's bow, as elephants feel the hail stones cast by the wind ahead. But the wicked Khashas threw stones on him who opposed the soldiers of the enemies, and thereby his body was cut, his bow was broken, and after a long time he was forced to retire. When he had retired the soldiers came in by roads high and low and arrived in sight of Bhikṣhāchara. One powerful warrior ran with a lance towards the man who held a weapon by the side of Bhikṣhu. This attendant had for a moment been careless, and the warrior struck him with the lance. Bhikṣhu who loved his dependants went immediately towards the assailant in anger, held him by the hair and struck him with a dagger, and Bhikṣhu's followers Kumāriya and Raktika struck him even when he had fallen dead.

When he had been thus struck dead, the three fought with the enemy's soldiers bearing various arms. The place became deserted on account of the combat, as a

tree is deserted by bees when a snake enters its hollow. The king's soldiers, unable to destroy them by sword, or spear, went a little way off and began to shower arrows. The lion Bhikṣhāchara warded off the arrows, but the Khashas from the houses began to hurl large stones. All the ways were obstructed by the heavy shower of stones and while Bhikṣhāchara was in the act of running, an arrow entered his side penetrating his liver. He went three steps and fell on the ground, and the fear which had frightened the enemy for a long time perished with him. Kumāriya too, pierced by an arrow at the groin, fell down near the feet of his master. Raktika also, pierced by an arrow in a mortal part, sat on the ground, like one dead, though his life was not yet extinct. Bhikṣhu fell with many noble persons, as the crest of a hill, felled by lightning, falls with the flower trees growing upon it. Among the royal family, Bhikṣhu, son of king Harṣha, became the object of glory not of shame. He accepted his own defeat without a complaint and with fortitude and resignation, so as to grieve even the Creator. Who among the past great kings was superior to him? None of them was in any way comparable to him in greatness.

Elated with vanity, the soldiers of the enemy who were ascending the fort fought with their weapons against Kumāriya who was in a miserable plight. The enemies apprehended that Kumāriya who was stunned with blows would fight as soon as he would regain his senses: and they accordingly came to him and killed him. When the

enemies of Bhikṣhu knew the condition in which Bhikṣhu was, they surrounded him and struck him in various ways. But the Khashas reviled them saying "It is useless O! fools! to strike him when he is dead." But still the soldiers struck Bhikṣhu in various ways. Raktika was killed by some of the unruly soldiers. It was wrong to use arms against him, as he was almost dead with the pain from his severe wound. At the age of thirty years and nine months, on the tenth lunar day of the dark moon, in the month of Jaiṣhṭha, in the year 6, Bhikṣhu died. He was the source of long tumult: but even they to whom he was the cause of ruin wondered at his conduct and approved of it. When dead, as when living, his eyes quivered in his head, his brows moved, and there was smile on his lips and his pulse beat for some time. His soul ascended the sun, there to live with the Apsarās, and his body remained on earth to be washed with cold water.

Next day the ministers brought the three heads before the king who was at Vijayakṣhetra. The king's character is as strange as the sea which has produced Lakṣhmī, Amṛita, jewels, elephant, horse, and the moon. The king shewed a strange demenour, and no one could guess his feelings. He felt no pride at the death of one who was a thorn to his father, and whom his father could not subdue, neither was he glad. He was not angry though Bhikṣhu had carried about his father's head, but he looked on Bhikṣhu's head and mused on the mutability of things "The make of Bhikṣhu's body

showed valor undisfigured by malice, he was pure as crystal, not heated by the rays of the sun. Alas! it is well known that all the kings from Utkarṣha should be overtaken by death before their natural time. Those who participated in Bhikṣhu's favor and enjoyed his fertile lands now see with indifference, that Bhikṣhu's head is all that is now left." Thus thought the king who possessed much generosity in him, and speedily ordered the funeral ceremonies of such an enemy to be performed. Even at night when his sleep was broken, he thought of the rise and destruction of Bhikṣhu, and thought of the mutability of the world.

The people believed that there would not be any more civil war in the country even for a thousand years to come. Fate burns grass large and small in order to grow the grain. It increases heat in the day and so causes rain to fall. What reliance can be placed on the uniformity of the action of Fate whose ways are various. After the king had finished the work, he expected rest, but Fate imposed on him a heavy task. The king had hardly freed his feet from the shackles of government in order to enjoy the company of women, and while he hoped for freedom from the cares of the kingdom, an additional load was imposed on him. Only one night had passed after the country had been freed from the enemy, when a messenger, dumb with grief, entered the presence of the king. When questioned by the noble courtiers, the letter carrier replied that of the half brothers Loṭhana

and Salhaṇa who had been confined by king Sussala in the hill of Lohara, the elder Salhaṇa being dead, the officers of the fort had coroneted the younger Loṭhana on the night succeeding the day on which the king's enemy, the disturbér of the realm, Bhikṣhāchara had died. That Loṭhana had been asked to come out of the prison and take possession of the treasury with his sons and nephews, five in all, proud and worthy of the kingdom.

The governors of provinces looked at the king, believing that the king whose mind had been relieved at the cessation of long tumults in the kingdom, would be grieved and stunned at this bad news which came like a thunderbolt; and that he would cry aloud and lie stretched on the ground and remain motionless, be numbed and stupified with excess of grief. But the king remained as before in conduct and expression. No other king had ever been beset with so many unbearable and irremediable calamities. He now lost the fort and the treasury [of Lohara] by means of which his father had regained the kingdom which had once been lost, and by means of which the present sovereign had freed the ancestral kingdom of enemies, and where also the last claimant to the throne had been confined, friendless, and in obscurity. For many years disorders destroying wealth and honor and sufferings caused by rebellions had prevailed in the kingdom. Now there rose six enemies, strong in wealth, and having forts in

the possession of their friends; and in the kingdom the people were divided and the treasuries empty. Tested by the touch-stone of these calamities, the nobleness of the king's mind excelled even the nobleness of Rāma. Rāma was as happy when the kingdom was first offered to him, as when he was afterwards sent into exile; and his father saw the equanimity of his temper on both these occasions and knew that he possessed the equanimity of the soul, and was struck with surprise. He did not remark signs of depression in Rāma when he ordered him to go to the forest, any more than when he called him to succeed to the kingdom. It was on the skirts of a beautiful forest, that his father promised to give Rāma the kingdom, when the time fixed for his exile had elapsed; and he bade Rāma with his wife and younger brother to abide there. Pleasure and pain coming at the same time make their difference keenly felt. In this world Bidhātā produces a result where there is no cause, and can prevent the result where there are many causes to produce it. I will speak of the very wonderful acts of the king, and who that has not been bereft of prosperity can overrate them?

The king who was a sea of patience wished to know of the particulars of the affairs of state and made enquiries from the bearer of the letter who narrated to him the accounts of Koṭṭa. "When Bhāgika had left Koṭṭa, Prema, lord of Maṇḍala, careless on account of affluence, paid little attention to the defence of the country. He gave himself

up to dress, to excessive eating and to indulgence in women. He was fierce and was hated by his servants, and his wealthy foster-mother looked after his affairs. He was forewarned by Fate which was friendly to the family, by such signs as the twiching of the eye, not to proceed further. He took no steps for the protection of the captives. Māyābhyudayana, an aspiring Kāyastha, Mājika the Pratīhāra, and Indrākara, son of the minister Bhīmākara, who had firmly established himself, conspired to destroy Prema at a certain place. But they found no opportunity to kill him, as he came down from Koṭṭa to his house on some business.

"About this time the Kāshmīrians sent instructions to the people of Koṭṭa in order to inspire confidence in them. The king was then in reduced circumstances; and according to these instructions, the numerous inhabitants of Koṭṭa wrote secret letters and came into an understanding with the wife of [Lothanasiṃha] whom they had decided to anoint. And after the fort had been examined and the men [who were in confinement] had been set free at night, Lo hanasiṃha was released from confinement and was anointed king before the temple of Vishṇu, named Rājasvāmi. The wicked woman, Sharat, widow of king Sussala, directed these men. She gave an iron instrument with which the bolts of the doors of the treasury were broken and much valuable jewels were robbed. These seven persons, with their servants, though attacked by the Chaṇḍālas (Ḍāmaras ?) spent the night

performing acts of great valor and in distributing gifts. The inhabitants of Koṭṭa passed the night without sleep on account of the sounds of druṃ and trumpet, and Loṭhana appeared almost as a king. He was never seen before in such noble dress and the people beheld him with surprise. He was also honored with illuminations caused by the king's ministers.

"Dvāraka who was with Prema invited from his own country, two Ṭhakkuras, Charmma and Pāshika with their soldiers. They deliberately and completely broke down a tower at the time when the night, pale with the touch of moonbeams, waned. When Prema learnt this bad news in the morning, he was very angry and much grieved, and he came out after sunrise to stop their work. But when he reached the principal street in the town, the soldiers repulsed him. I have seen so far of the enemy's work and have come to you, my lord."

When the king had heard this, he did not delay to send Lalla, minister of Lohara, and Ānandabarddhana, the powerful lord of Dvāra. The king knew them to be of those who knew the country about Koṭṭa and who were born in that place and who knew the ups and downs of the land, by local indications.

When the king entered the palace, he saw the soldiers who were aspiring for reward swinging the head of Bhikṣhu. He snatched it from them and caused it to be burnt. The crowd who were unchecked and consisted mostly of women were grieved to see the grandson burnt

in the kingdom where his grand-father [Harṣha] had reigned, by the orders of the present king. In summer when the sun became powerful, the king, confident of a successful issue, sent Rilhaṇa to his (king's) native country [Lohara.] Rilhaṇa was distinguished by his mighty valor, his devotion to his master and his being devoid of avarice. The king who wished for a prosperous termination believed that Rilhaṇa would begin a sure career of success. But either owing to predestination or owing to his false ministers, the plans of the king were destroyed before they were matured, and the king became uneasy. He was not strong in wealth, forts or in his ministers, and he believed that the servants of his considerate enemy had commenced their work in this sultry season.

Udaya, lord of Kampana, waited before the king, and then went after the prime minister, the Pratīhāra. The army consisted of the Rajputs, and the Ḍāmara horsemen and was led by ministers, and accompanied by troops who looked terrible in their arms. A part of the force which was within the palace [at Lohara] surrounded a large tract of country and tried to seize the enemy. Lalla and others remained at Phullapura adjoining Koṭṭa, and made the enemy's soldiers tremble by spreading alarm and dissension among them, and also by skirmishes. Sussala had received many services from Loṭhana; but Shūra, the king of many lands, to whom Sussala had giv en his daughter Padmalekhā in marriage, came to

the help of the king [of Kāshmīra,] and Shūra's soldiers consequently attacked the soldiers of the enemy. When they had besieged the country, Loṭhana's heart wavered through fear, and he thought of submitting to the king, and to the punishment he would award. "Our fruitless endeavour has come to a suitable end, in these desperate times, we should retreat, and in such retreat there is no humiliation." [Thus thought Loṭhana to himself.] Lakṣhmaka urged on him every day that they would gradually collect forces and make a good beginning on the approach of the favorable season of autumn. But neither the king [of Lohara] nor the other ministers present there accepted the advice, for the latter were deceitful.

Udayana, the king's principal manager, promised much wealth to Somapāla and brought him to the help of his master. Somapāla was avaricious of wealth and though he was related to the king [of Kāshmīra], was not worthy of taking his meals with the king. He had taken side against the king who was then in a very dangerous situation. "If Loṭhana gives me much wealth what do I care of my relationship with the king, if he does not, I will promise falsely to Loṭhana to be on his side." Thus treacherously thought Somapāla within himself as he went. Sujji also had some reason for behaving deceitfully. When Bhikṣhāchara had asked and insisted that the king of Kāshmīra should pay the money promised to him before, Sujji had been sent to

Bhikṣhāchara as an envoy. But the king recalled him soon after through Somapāla. Sujji then heard that Bhikṣhāchara was on the brink of destruction, and he refrained from joining him, believing that Bhikṣhāchara would not be able to tide over the difficulties. Filled with pride, the king did not pay any thing to Bhikṣhāchara. When Sujji heard that Bhikṣhāchara was killed, he thought it inexpedient to join Bhikṣhāchara's party, as he knew that every one was sympathising with the king.

Frightened by the troubles which raged at Lohara, Sujji became anxious and very much grieved. He said to the rebels one day that he would cause peace to be established between them and the king and Loṭhana through the king's envoy, and that he would induce Loṭhana to pay some gold to them by speaking to Somapāla. He sought by such promises to strengthen or to weaken the different parties as suited the furtherance of his own interest. Followed by a handful of servants who appeared to go in quest of some other object, Sujji joined the powerful army of Somapāla. Thus Sujji scattered ashes on all sides* and soiled his good name, and he destroyed the nobility of his soul through the lust of enjoyment. He could not forego the luxurious food of Kāshmīra, digested by water white as snow or sugar. Unable to eat dry oatmeal mixed with husk which he got out of Kāshmīra, he was anxious to enter it by any means.

* *i. e.* behaved in an unworthy manner.

The Kāshmīrians saw that the dissensions did not terminate at the end of summer, and became anxious when they heard of Sujji's approach. They lived on fried meat, drank the charming, light and cool juice of grapes smelling of flowers, and they came to the Pratīhāra and said that they would soon bring Sujji dragging him by the beard. Thus the people began to talk of their manliness. But when Sujji arrived with a few Kāshmīrians, with the Khashas and the men of Sindhu, they tried in vain to confront him. Somapāla who had asked for a large sum of money was told by Loṭhana that he would rather pay tribute to Jayasiṃha, the principal enemy, and the proudest of the proud. Thus rebuked, Somapāla rendered some service to the king. Somapāla then thus addressed Sujji :—" O ! Sujji ! thou art on the side of my father-in-law's (Jayasiṃha's) army eager to fight against the enemy, wherefore wilt thou then seek to descry my weakness?" Thus rebuked, Sujji left all aside in his pride, and went over to the king's army.

Attacked with cold and fever and struck with excessive fright, Lakshmaka broke up his encampment during night and fled at the end of the fever-giving month of Āṣhāḍa. Some of the soldiers of Jayasiṃha sent messengers to their sovereign to inform him of the flight, and pursued Sujji with the intention of destroying those who fled. The army of the king marched on one side of the road leading to the fort of Shvabhra, while on the other side of it, marched the enemy. But the enemy

finding the road named Shāramvara occupied by the army of Jayasiṃha, avoided it, and went by the pass of Kālenana, and marched towards their own ground. Before the day closed, they were seen by many persons in the village of Vanikāvāma. They were pursued by their pursuers to the neighbouring villages. The latter passed the time without any fear, in eating and drinking, till midnight. Sujji who was afflicted with sorrow hastily approached the enemy and caused his trumpet to be sounded in order to let the enemy know that he was nigh. As the night waned, the soldiers, left without any leader, fled through the mountain roads. When in the morning, the ministers who were with the army were robbed of their various colored dresses, they appeared like hillocks variagated with melted metals after an earthquake. The soldiers who plundered carried no weapon for the defence of the army, as if the wind which they raised by their movement defended them. Some, whose nether garments were of red color, appeared, as they jumped over the rocks, like monkeys with red buttocks in their march. Some left off their clothes exposing to sight their fair bodies and seemed like pieces of rocks of yellow arsenic, moved by the wind. Some of them who were corpulent, as they passed over the hills covered with forests of pike-like bamboos, breathed heavily with their heads uplifted, like elephants raising their trunks. It is needless to mention names. There was none among the ministers whose firmness was not shaken, and who

did not run away through fear of the beasts and birds in the forest. The Pratīhāra was seen by some of the enemy's soldiers riding on the shoulder of his servant who was unable to run fast. The soldiers determined to seize him, and pursued him with all their might. He was without clothes and his gold ear-rings and arm-rings glittered in the sun. The servant wounded by a stone let fall his master from his shoulder and he was cut by a rock. He lay without moving or speaking. and was taken up by the soldiers who soon came up to him. He became, like a shārikā (a bird) that feels miserable and languishes when newly caught and while the moisture is yet in her throat. He could hardly cast his eye on the enemies. He thought that after he fell into the hands of the enemy, Sujji would subject him to still greater indignities. Shorn of wealth and fame and having only his upper garment on him and without even the power to move, he was borne on the shoulders by the troopers who shouted and laughed in derision. Thus he was conveyed to Sujji. That kind hearted man covered his face and enquired why he was not honored like a great king, and gave him his own clothes to dress. Sujji consoled him with mild words, clothed him and placed him on a horse and thus comforted him. Surrounded by the Khasha soldiers who were plundering horses, swords and treasures, Sujji went to Somapāla taking Lakṣhmaka with him. With whom does prosperity remain permanently? It follows the cloud of fortune, like the unsteady

lightning which plays with the nymphs of the sky. He (the Pratīhāra) whom Somapāla and others had served like servants and whose body they had smeared with perfumes, was now, within five months, seen by men seated before Somapāla in that plight. Lalla was also captured by the enemy. With his black face surrounded with white hair, he looked like a monkey in a strange forest, dumb with sorrow. Somapāla took with him Lakṣhmaka, made over to him by Sujji, and considering that Kashmīra had already been subdued, returned to his own kingdom. The powerful and wise Mājika and others came from Loṭhana, and having obtained from Somapāla a promise to give them what they would ask, begged him for the delivery of the Pratīhāra for a large amount of gold. But Somapāla, desirious of obtaining the lands possessed by the Pratīhāra and also expecting much wealth from the king, did not give him up though he had promised to do so.

When the disgraced ministers returned to the capital, and when the Pratīhāra was taken, the king did not lose self-possession. Ten thousand troops of the army,—the same army by which Bhikṣhāchara had before caused a division in the country, and by which Sussala had gained power in the disturbed kingdom,—now perished of cold and fever. Funeral music and the lamentation of friends continued day and night in the land, and did not cease even for a moment. In the powerful sun of the summer season, the life of

the survivors became inert; and the time seemed like that for the destruction of the kingdom owing to the depression of men's minds. At Lohara, people from various countries, and even from Kashmīra went to the palace-gate, so that it became crowded. Thus it was by a happy chance that Loṭhana obtained the fleeting Royal Fortune, and became as full of splendour as the god of wealth. The sons of Loṭhana's brother and the sons of his servants did not share Loṭhana's physical and mental infirmities, and were not deprived of enjoyments. The actions of the rich king Loṭhana who did not bestow charity on the undeserving and was not niggardly to the deserving, lacked energy owing to his old age. As when the course of a shadow is obstructed, the light naturally gets intermingled with darkness; so though happiness is quite the opposite of misery, yet the course of uniform pleasure is interrupted by great afflictions.

Within about a month after he had obtained greatness, Loṭhana's only son named Dilha died; and Loṭhana's beloved wife, Mallā died sorrowing for her only son, pierced with grief and despair. On the death of his most beloved wife and of his worthy son, Loṭhana did not pay attention to the affairs of the kingdom. But owing either to his natural want of affection or to the genial influence of Kingly Fortune, he indulged in pleasures again. The king [of Kāshmīra] knew how to take advantage of an opportunity; and although poor, he

ransomed the old Lakshmaka for thirty-six lakhs [of the current coin.] When Lakshmaka arrived, the road was strewn with flowers and the people saw the growing prosperity of the king; and who did not then believe that the king had got back the Royal Fortune? The greatness of fortune soon removed the stain of the defeat which the powerful king had sustained, and he was again able to favor and punish men. Sujji whose avarice had destroyed his dexterity in all business, now threw off his disguise and became the minister of king Loṭhana. He bestowed on king Loṭhana, the daughter of Bhāgika and removed the mistrust which existed between him and Loṭhana, and also soothed the grief caused by the death of his beloved ones. The able Sujji requested king Padmaratha, and brought Padmaratha's daughter named Somaladevī for marriage with Loṭhana. Having thus by high connections established the stability of king Loṭhana, Sujji paid off the debt of receiving the post of the minister which he had sought. The new king, at the repeated request of the Ḍāmaras and others, sent Sujji to Kashmīra, and Sujji prepared his plan for entering that country.

The son of Sussala (king Jayasiṃha) devised means to deceive the enemy who was now in a prosperous condition as stated above, and had allied himself with the kings of the adjoining countries. Udaya, lord of Dvāra, deep in wisdom and of unabated zeal, was admired for his services to the king by the unthinking people. He lost all his

wealth in bestowing gifts and conferring honors on men, and he was always zealous in the service of his master. He remained at Vanaprastha, not far from Lohara, and during the never-ending war, he unweariedly spread discord among the forces of the enemy. Dāraka and others frightened Mājika with rumours which might have been true or false, of some harm from king Loṭhana. They apprehended that as they had been conspirators and were fit to be executed, the king who had confided his purposes to Sujji would think it proper to take their lives, and would send Sujji for that purpose. On the other hand, the wise king Jayasiṃha, within a short time, deceived Loṭhana, as he had deceived Prema. He said to the people :—"We will make Mallārjjuna, son of king Sussala by queen Sahajā, king of this Lohara for your benefit." When the king had said these deceitful words, the people did not believe him, yet they consented to his proposal with the object of possessing Koṭṭa. Loṭhana knew his brother's son Mallārjjuna to be first among the conspirators, and imprisoned him as also the other conspirators of whom Mallārjjuna was the chief. Afraid of the son of Sussala (Mallārjjuna) who was imprisoned, Loṭhana made Vigraharāja accept the office of the Pratīhāra. The king who was fertile in expedients, concluded peace with the brother of his father by stratagem and by various other means, and hastened to bring the lost kingdom (Lohara) under his control. Through the labors of Sujji, the kingdom became stable, and for a few

months Loṭhana could discard Shūra, and was able, without fear, to engage himself in his own work. When Sujji heard that the mother of the unmarried daughter of Padmaratha, whom he had invited for marriage of her daughter with Loṭhana, had arrived with great pomp, he went to Darpitapura to receive her men. At this unguarded time Mallārjjuna was released from prison by Mājiká and others, and was unanimously anointed king of the kingdom of Koṭṭa by them and by the Ṭhakkuras who had been brought to the place before. They opposed the entrance into the fort, of the servants of Jayasiṃha who had approached the castle gate and were wishing to get into it. In the year 6, on the thirteenth day of the bright moon, in the month of Phālguna, Loṭhana was deprived of his kingdom, as speedily as he had obtained it. The foolish and unfortunate Loṭhana lamented that the unmarried girl and his unspent wealth should go for the enjoyment of another. His power was now broken, he passed through Aṭṭālikā and other places, and obtained what little remained in the treasury, through Sujji's influence.

When the dependants of king Jayasiṃha, who had been invited before, arrived, Mājika reproached them and made king Mallārjjuna supreme in the country. This prodigal and youthful king, on one occasion, distributed betels prepared with pearls, for want of betel-nuts. In the indulgence of his passions, he showered gold on the procurers. Such gift was pronounced criminal by the wise men. Thus the prodigal Mallārjjuna squandered

the contents of the treasury which king Sussala had filled by oppressing the subjects, and the money so obtained was thus suitably spent. Mallārjjuna discarded the good, and filled the coffers of the astrologers, the evil-doers, the licentious, the servants and others, for he was vicious and evil-minded. The wealth of kings obtained by extorting the people will either be taken away by enemies or spent on evil purposes or will be burnt. The wealth of king Jayāpīḍa obtained by oppressing the subjects was squandered by Utpala and others,—the sons of a servant-woman and the destroyers of his grandson. Shaṅkaravarmmā's wealth obtained in various ways by oppressing the people was used by his wife's paramours,—Prabhākara and others. The sensual wives of "the Lame" who did not like the embraces of their husband gave his ill-gotten wealth to Sugandhāditya, their paramour. King Yashaskara's hoarded wealth was spent by the woman,—a Chaṇḍālī, in her lust. The bountiful son of Parvvagupta died after obtaining the treasures earned by the previous kings, and Tunga and others got them as paramours of the wife of Parvvagupta's son. The rich Saṅgrāmarāja, who was anxious to get a large income, was robbed by Vyaḍḍasūha and others who like bees extracted honey from the lotus-like face of his wife Shrīlekhā. The riches of king Ananta, who did not attend to his duties and did much harm to his subjects, were burnt to ashes after his death The ill-gotten treasures of

king Kalasha, obtained from Koshala, were, on his death, soon given by his son to the undeserving and by his widow to her paramour. The wealth of king Harṣhadeva, whose thirst for gain was never satisfied, was burnt by fire along with his home, wives and sons. The well-earned riches of the strictly righteous kings Chandrāpīḍa, Uchchala, Avantivarmmā and others were rightly disposed of.

Thieves, conspirators, petty neighbouring kings, prostitutes and dissolute men robbed Mallārjjuna on his new ascendancy to a great extent. Even after deceiving his enemy, the purpose of the king [Jayasiṃha] was frustrated. Jayasiṃha was grieved, and sent Chitraratha to attack [Mallārjjuna.] The king honored him by giving him possession of estate equal to Dvāra and Pādāgra; and he stationed himself at Phullapura with innumerable petty chiefs. But though his followers were many, they could not overcome the enemies, as they were sheltered within a fort. In order to gain an entrance, one named Sambarddhana, a servant of Chitraratha, and a confidential man of the king, scaled the fort at night, but was killed by the followers of Mallārjjuna. Though the enemies could not be overcome in fight, yet when Koshṭeshvara arrived in the rear [of Chitraratha,] they were struck with panic. Koshṭeshvara came to terms, and peace was established with Mallārjjuna. Mallārjjuna then sent his mother to visit the other party out of civility. But she excited the passion

of the unsteady Koshṭeshvara and others by her rich and faultless dress of widowhood. When their confidence was established she returned from them, and Mallārjjuna gave the promised tribute to the lord of Dvāra. Attracted by the beauty of the eyes of the king's mother, Koshṭeshvara on the pretence of seeing Koṭṭa began to ascend the ground with a limited number of followers. But when he had gone up half the way, Chitraratha with adequate presents accompanied him, and both went to the king together. The king then consulted Udaya, lord of Dvāra, who had acquired much wisdom, and again planned for the subjection of his enemies. At the time when Loṭhana went to Padmaratha, the new king, now free from fear of an attack, had leisure to stretch his legs; and accordingly availed himself of the opportunity and married Somalā, daughter of Padmaratha. He married also the daughter of Nāgapāla. Somapāla and other kings screened their deceitfulness from Mallārjjuna, foolish in his pride, and took pay as servants. Many deceitful persons cheated the king by their poetry, song, gossip, fighting and flattery, and robbed him of every thing, and so did his dependants. Owing to his boyish years, Mallārjjuna had an undeveloped intellect, and he was known to be a fool, owing to his garrulity; and he was bent on mischief. There was nothing beautiful about him except his bright face, like the beautiful formed comet, which is the cause of evil.

At this opportunity the king [Jayasiṃha] brought over the fiery-tempered Sujji to his side, with the view that Mallārjjuna might not get his assistance. The king displayed a great power for seasonable artifice, both at the time of exiling Sujji from his service and at the time of bringing him over to his side. Jayasiṃha gave Sujji the garland indicative of the possession of Kampana except the Rājsthāna (palace), and in order particularly to gratify Sujji, he, at the request of Somapāla and others who had come to his house at the time of bestowing the garland, was pleased to pull away the garland which he had worn on his own head, with the left hand, and to give Sujji the fruit of Fortune, thus honoring him the more. Sujji looked on it with delight, and was glad to accept it as a valuable gift. At the time when Sujji came before the king, Rilhaṇa discarded the friendship of Udaya and Dhanya for the benefit of his master and behaved as their enemy. The king honored Sujji by going forward to receive him and caused him to be brought in, and in compliance with his request, the king expelled Dhanya and others, Sujji's enemies, from the country, though not from his mind. The king intended to kill Koṣhṭeshvara with a weapon, and that guilty man who was present, knew of it, and fled from him. And when the king took with him Manujeshvara and attacked Koṣhṭeshvara, and the latter being weakened by the discord among his own men fled from the country.

Loṭhana having obtained help from some Ṭhakkuras

remained at a place named Vapyanīla and defeated Mallārjjuna by his prowess. Loṭhana displayed unexpected courage on this occasion. Deprived of his throne, he overcame Mallārjjuna after having tied up his legs [*i. e.* not allowing him to escape.] He seized the horses and plundered the market of Aṭṭālikā and everywhere destroyed roads and towns. Loṭhana entered Kramarājya at the request of the Ḍāmara named Rājarāja, and in order to obtain the kingdom of Kashmīra. But when he arrived there, the Lavanya who was near him was killed by Chitraratha; whereupon he returned to Bapyanīla. Loṭhana repeatedly attacked Mallārjjuna, so that the latter was unable to lay seige to Aṭṭālikā and he resided at Koṭṭa. Koṣhṭeshvara caused much wealth to be given by the nephew [Mallārjjuna] to the uncle [Loṭhana] and established peace between them. When peace was established at Lohara, Koṣhṭeshvara, with a view to fight with the king [Jayasiṃha,] took Loṭhana with him and fell on Kashmīra. When he had scaled the hills and had set his foot on Kārkoṭadraṅga, the other Ḍāmaras who had arrived by the level road, could not yet join him. The active king came out, and by every means in his power, crushed him at the time of his ascendency.

Meanwhile the Pratīhāra died without illness. The riches of people possessing small virtue are not safe to their lives. Fie to those men who find a pleasure in driving away people from them, and who live by shutting

the doors of their room, and without being importuned by men, and whose prosperity makes their intellect light. They cannot anticipate the sudden fall of their auspicious fortune. The female servant of the Pratīhāra who had always been driving away men from the house, and slept at ease did not know that the Death was at his back. He was sleeping after the fever had left him, and so thought she, but she did not know that he died even when sleeping.

When Koshtaka with Loṭhana had departed from [Lohara,] neither Mallārjjuna nor Koshtaka nor Loṭhana remained the sovereign of the country. Mallārjjuna killed Udayana who was on his side through treachery. On this Koshtaka who had been appointed umpire between them became very angry with Mallārjjuna. Koshṭaka then collected a force, and he did not show himself inferior to Mallārjjuna, and accompanied by Loṭhana, he marched rapidly in anger to confront Mallārjjuna. He joined a few horsemen headed by Mallakoshṭa, crossed the river Paroshṇī and crushed a weak army [of the enemy.] In this battle when the Khashas and the men of Sindhu perished, though the king [Mallārjjuna] could have been destroyed, yet, out of jealousy towards Jayasiṃha, he was spared. He [Mallārjjuna] ascended the crest of Koṭṭa, but was fallen from the crest of pride, and his power was broken ; and he again concluded peace with Koshṭaka. Leaving Loṭhana [Koshṭaka] remained with the Ḍāmaras without committing any hostility,

but in a doubtful state towards Mallārjjuna who did not give him what he had stipulated to give. Koshṭaka imprisoned the chiefs of the several departments of government, and, like a king, collected rent from the subjects in Draṅga, in his own name, and left no money in Sindhu. As two fragments of a glass jar joined together by lac get separated, so from time to time, the peace was broken between them. The lord of Lohara [Mallārjjuna] estranged himself from the Ḍāmaras by his harsh words, and they too alienated his heart from them by their ungovernable defiance. The Ḍāmaras attacked the centre of the camp, possessed themselves of the superior weapons, horses and beasts of burden, and made the camp lifeless. The foolish Koshṭaka with his powerful army frightened [Mallārjjuna] as regards the future, and reduced him to a state of weakness in which he could be easily destroyed by enemies.

At this opportunity the king [Jayasiṃha] thought of destroying Mājika his principal minister and father-in-law. Mājika had bestowed his daughter on the king. Mājika was young and lustful, and the king believed that it was well known that he was the paramour of the king's mother. At the time when Mājika was taking his meals, he was, at the instigation of the king, killed by the Tikṣhṇas who were provided with arms. The king brandished his sword, tied about him the shield of a warrior, plundered Mājika's soldiers and, by

the volubility of his speech, behaved as in a theatre. It is strange that in the midst of this rebellion even Diddākara was not left alive; the king made an end of him by administering poison. It was by chance that the enemies of the king were dispersed. He sent Sujji to subdue Koshṭaka. In one prahara Sujji reached the end of the road he had to traverse, but he was harassed owing to his horses being robbed by Koshṭaka. Distressed by internal quarrel and unable to remain there, Mallārjjuna left Koṭṭa after taking with him his wealth. Expelled from his territory, he was plundered by the robbers and was nearly surrounded by them; and it was with difficulty that he secured the remainder of his treasure. On the second day of Vaishākha, in the year 8, Mallārjjuna, aged eighteen years, lost the kingdom.

Udaya, lord of Kampana, reduced Kāpila, Harshaṭa and Koṭṭa under the province of Maṇḍala. He collected the officers of Koṭṭa and, with a view to consolidate Maṇḍala, waited there for a few days. At this time the mind of the king who was about to reward the lord of Kampana, was abused by the treason of wicked and profligate men who were jealous of one another. "What king except yourself is resolute in doing justice?" said the wily men to the king, and made the sovereign act like a child. The king, when a child, was in the company of ignorant men, and was dull; and when he attained his youth, his dullness did not altogether leave him, just as the flaw in a precious stone is not effaced by time.

Alas! The selection of the king's officers is the cause of the sufferings of the innocent kingdom, like the sudden fall of a thunderbolt. In the hope should Sujji be unsuccessful in attaining the desired end, he would, like Lakṣhmaka and others, be an object of laughter, the confidential servants of the king had employed Sujji in subduing Lohara. Wicked men brought against Sujji, who had performed many wonderful deeds, the charge of treachery which was as unfailing as Brahmāstra. On account of the gravity of the king, the change of his mind was not apparent; and the lord of Kampana (Sujji) who had returned to the king did not know of the turbid state of his mind in the expression of friendly feelings which the king used towards him. How could he who was naturally loyal and who had done such services to the king entertain fear or distrust? The king was not pleased with the just acts done by him, as he who is bereft of the sense of pleasure is not pleased by the words of affection of the woman he does not love. Sujji behaved with ease, feeling proud at the thought that he had, for the king, conquered the two kingdoms which had been lost before. Sujji having plundered the town, the citizens became unruly, and his friends opposed him. Koṣhṭeshvara remembered his own transgression and did not trust the king nor even his uncle [Loṭhana] who expressed his displeasure towards the king.

Chitraratha, who with Sujji was accumulating wealth by oppressing the subjects and was related to the king

was disliked by his angry master. As the king favored Sujji, Dhanyodaya showed no friendship towards the king, but lived in the capital and secretly robbed him of his wealth. Sujji and Chitraratha had now grown old and had lost their retainers through cold and fever, and they secretly robbed Mallārjjuna who, though deprived of his kingdom, was very rich. Lakṣhmaka invited Sañjapāla through his messengers, on account of his enmity with Sujji, and Sañjapāla came to the capital. The king [Jayasiṃha] whose efforts had been checked by Sujji and Chitraratha did not give orders to Sañjapāla to enter the city; but Mallārjjuna sent messengers to him. On this account Sañjapāla got himself into a quarrel on the way with some leaders of the army, his body was marked with wounds, and he was deprived of his glory. Even, in this plight, Mallārjjuna could not bring him over to him, though he promised much wealth. Wise men therefore praised Sañjapāla. A certain feudatory chief privately invited him through messengers out of courtesy, and Rilhaṇa and he came there without delay. "If I am not killed yet, I shall be killed afterwards," thought the brave Sañjapāla, as he entered the city by a road difficult of access, on account of enemies. He was respected by the kings of Kānyakubja and Gauḍa for his prowess, but he was grieved at not receiving good treatment in his own country. But the citizens near the capital looked towards his feet. The king appeared before Sañjapāla, after he had deliberated with the ministers, and honored

him by giving him betel with his own hand. Though an insignificant man, he was followed by men as he had obtained renown, and he made his enemies tremble by frequenting the palace of the king. Sujji who could see into the minds of men observed the uncommon appearance of Sañjapāla, his conversation and his conduct, and trembled. He thought within himself that this wonderful behaviour of Sañjapāla, which was quite unprecedented and excelled all excellent actions, would serve to restore peace in the kingdom. Sujji had seen haughty warriors in various countries, but when he saw Sañjapāla he thought little of those whom he had seen before, for they [unlike Sañjapāla] had wished to live in peace.

Either on account of destiny or on account of his haughtiness, Sujji became ungovernable and committed many censurable acts according to his pleasure. While he was in the Māḍava kingdom, a Brāhmaṇa, who had been plundered by his followers, spoke harsh words in anger. Sujji killed him by a dart, as one kills a jackal. By this deed he irritated the people who collected outside the town, and the people within the town were also estranged from him on account of this terrible act.

At this time Kamaliya and others contracted friendship with one of Sujji's friends, [Rilhaṇa], whom Sujji in his pride treated with indifference, although he was worthy of respect. "Though he is faithful to me," thought Sujji in his pride, "is there any one who

confers any favor on me?" And with this thought, Sujji treated him as if he had been a flatterer. Rilhaṇa became the enemy of Sujji, on account of his matrimonial alliance with Kamaliya and others and on account of his own prowess. But through a slight cause, a division arose between Rilhaṇa and Kamaliya and others, and soon the difference increased a hundred-fold. Ulhaṇa, son of Sahadeva, soon incited the naturally proud Rilhaṇa by evil advices which stirred his vanity and inspired him with a spirit of oppositioı. "The king is ungrateful, he tolerates equality between Kamaliya and others and ourselves." Thus he made Rilhaṇa angry even with the king. The king who was well supported, consequently excluded Rilhaṇa, like an outsider, from confidential and familiar talk. But Rilhaṇa who concealed his master's altered mood towards him by his cunning imparted firmness to his friends and fear to his enemies by his hypocrisy. By means of gifts he gained the friendship of Sañjapāla who was all powerful and who was sought for by both parties. Both the parties were armed, and in the sight of each other, entered the capital which was every moment convulsed with fear.

Sujji caused a tumult among the opposing chiefs at a place of amusement called Mahīmāna, with a view to overthrow them. Sañjapāla standing at the gate with his hand resting on his neck was pointed out to Sujji. Sujji became angry, he rebuked Sañjapāla and threw a

stone at him. But the king assuaged his anger and made him sit by him. He thought that no harm would befall so long Sujji lived. The Brāhmaṇas of Maḍava said that they did not wish that Sujji should obtain possession of the kingdom of Kampana; and they remained without food. Rilhaṇa brought by night Pañchachandra who had collected an army, in order secretly to strike terror into the enemies. Sujji feared Sañjapāla and also Pañchachandra who had a large force, and did not consider any one else as his enemy. Afraid of an attack, Sujji issued out of the house with the cavalry, and remained awake at night in the street with a large army and the horsemen. The king was perplexed; and Koshṭeshvara became united by friendship with Sujji who was well supported. Sujji killed Manujeshvara who was favorably disposed [towards the king]; and for this act, the king who had detested Sujji before, now detested him all the more. When such was the state of things, Sujji's enemies told the king that Sujji was undoing during the night what the king had done for his own safety. The king was like a foolish man who considers falsehood to be truth and regards truth as falsehood; and he was deserted by prosperity and was oppressed with evils. They whose eyes are jaundiced believe the effulgence of gems to be fire and avoid them, and they make a similar mistake in whatever they look at. What do not men devoid of reason see? In this world they regard falsehood as truth and truth as falsehood. The king did not know any other way of overcoming the troubles except battle.

and employed Sañjapála to chastise the powerful Sujji. Like a coward, and able to destroy the heroic Sujji only by deceit, Sañjapāla waited for opportunity at different places with a view to kill Sujji by throwing a missle. Thus when both intended to kill each other by deceit and aimed at each other, the kingdom became disturbed, sometimes by fear, and sometimes by exultation. Sujji feared that his enemies would rise at night and kept himself awake as before. Even in the king's dwelling, the sentinals remained vigilant.

Sujji wished to banish Rilhaṇa from the kingdom, and the king, unable to oppose him, consented. Rilhaṇa wanted to go, but after he had bade adue to his sovereign, the lord of Dvāra told the king that the people were grieved for Rilhaṇa and with the king's permission kept him in the country. Sujji consulted the king and became desirous of reconciling Rilhaṇa with the sovereign. But Sañjapāla, who along with Sujji had devoured the king's treasures, thus spoke to the king:— "O! King! It is at the instigation of Ulhaṇa and others and through his own pride that Sujjī is holding up his head. It is his wish not to bear the rivalry of others; he says that with the king's permission, he who has never rebelled against the king, but has done him good service, can send Rilhaṇa to exile, seize the very rich Chitraratha, collect again the cavalry which has fled from Lohara, and can recover the king's treasures which have been totally destroyed. He can collect an army and destroy Koshṭaka.

He regards his life as little as grass in his master's work, and makes his will subservient to his duty, and not to the interests of his relatives. This youth [meaning yourself] will be a king freed from all anxiety by the overthrow of the hostile king, and will reign in the centre of his kingdom the whole of which will submit to his exertions. He further says that you are desirous that Ulhaṇa, lord of Dvāra, should have supreme power in strengthening the kingdom, and that Sujji should be allowed full powers in dealing with Rilhaṇa. And if there was no disagreement among Sujji, Ulhaṇa and yourself, no one, you thought, could usurp the seat of the king. But if you do not abide by these terms, then he (Sujji) will bring here an aged relative and place him on the seat of the king." The king feared to be besieged by the enemy, and was anxious to bind Sañjapāla over to his side, and he thus spoke [to himself] with a heavy sigh; and as he spoke the rays from his teeth seemed to show his worth. "What he [Sujji] has said is true; he is wanting neither in the will to rise against the king nor in ability; neither is it probable that the proud man will remain inactive. It is difficult to root out his enmity, not to mention his plan of doing harm. When I was angry with him, I intended to kill him, and I am sorry that that act must be done, be he really a rebel or not. Surely he will learn our plans by bestowing money to the weak-minded men in whose presence we held consultation, and by bringing them over to his

side. It is owing either to the dullness of our intellect or to the virtue of these men of inferior capacity that they are enjoying our good things. Those kings who employ stupid men have to undergo such penances as are the fruits of ignorance. The path of kings becomes difficult on account of dishonest men, as the road of the market place, difficult on account of bulls. What a difference is there between the path known to politicians and that known to the deceitful. The deceitful and the dogs are alike; they are both opposed to good work in every way, their tongues are restless and they steal others' food. This unavoidable bad deed which we are about to commit, troubled and frightened by the deceitful, will make us repent afterwards." Thus the king thought and was ready to accomplish Sujji's murder, and with that view kept Sañjapāla always on the watch, and he also remained watchful. The king was in a disturbed state of mind, because he feared that the plan would ooze out, and because he heard from his servant that Sujji also had intended to kill him. The king told Rilhaṇa to go home and to form a matrimonial alliance with Sujji, and this alliance he caused to be made. Though the king had planned to kill Sujji, yet he could not find an opportunity to do so, and he lost self-control and thought of it day and night, rolling on his bed. As Sañjapāla did not return from his home, grieved at the death of a friend of his, the king feared that the desperate work was not done, and became the more distressed in mind. Kularāja, a commander in the army,

and a celebrated athlete, had brothers named Kalyāṇarāja and others who had fallen like heroes in the field of battle, unmindful of the benefit done to them by king Sussala. Kularāja was anxious to pay off the debt [of benefit done to his brothers by Sussala] even at the sacrifice of his life, and asked the king the cause of his misery. The king told him that the cause of his misery was his fear of the lord of Kampana [Sujji] which he was unable to check or dispel and for which there was no remedy. What an insignificant thing it was, said Kularāja, to offer one's life in the service of the king ; and he was determined to do the desperate deed. The lord of Kampana [Sujji] who for two days did not come out of his house, had no security guaranteed to him either against death or against ill-fortune.

On the third day Shṛiṅgāra, a faithful servant, told the king that he saw Sujji on bed and alone. The servant who is kept as an ornament to his master, though he serves always, is not employed in the performance of daring deeds. The Pināka bow was an ornament in the hand of Shiva, and in the wars of old, the bow's work was done by the Mandāra hill which Shiva had then obtained. The king sent Kularāja in the guise of a betel-bearer, and his true firmness disguised his feeling "Death is certain, I will surely not come back, I shall be killed, but what of that ?" Thus thought he and did not carry the betel in a golden vessel. This man removed the difficulties of the king by giving

up his life. Others try to do the same, but they fail to accomplish it. "Be he with or without attendants, he will surely be killed by me, stir yourself up O king! after this." Thus he said and went out. The king thought to himself that should Kularāja fail in the daring act for which he was going, it was doubtful whether he would be able to escape, and the king's mind became distracted. Kularāja was bent on benefiting his master, and pondered a little, and afterwards, on some pretence, took with him two armed warriors to the place beyond which their passage was forbidden. Kularāja was introduced by the door-keeper under the pretence that he had brought betel from the king himself. He entered and came to Sujji, but his followers were prevented from coming. He saw Sujji in company of a limited number of attendants, some seated on high and some on low seats, like a leader elephant attended by a few elephants. Sujji accepted and saluted his master's betel and examined the mandate sent by his master; and having honored Kularāja who was entitled to honor, dismissed him after a short while. Fearing lest other people might come in, Kularāja made no delay in telling Sujji that an armed man of the Kaivartta caste had, after committing some offence, taken his (Kularāja's) shelter. "You should," he continued, "forbid your servants who are reviling him from doing so and, without looking into the cause or the occasion, you should first pay respect to our party." Sujji, in his pride, disregarded those proud words, and made a rude reply that he would not do it. Kularāja

went out, as if in anger, but Sujji's servants said that he should be respected, assuaged him, prevented his going away and again brought him back. Kularāja asked that his two servants, who were waiting to enter, might be ordered to be brought in, that they might inform Sujji of some business. Sujji reluctantly permitted the servants to enter, and when Kularāja saw them come in, he, with their help, made up his mind to rise against Sujji and strike him. Sujji told them to go that day, promising to do what was needful, in the morning, and he turned his back and stretched himself on bed in order to sleep. Kularāja went a little way, but returned, quickly unsheathed his dagger, and without delay struck Sujji on his left side. Sujji's servants raised a cry against this treachery. All of them ran towards the knife, but the murderers all struck Sujji. Before Sujji's servants, who were looking at the dreadful deed, had time to realize the calamity, Sujji appeared as if he had long ceased to breathe. The followers of Sujji had deserted their honor and fled in fear. Piñchadeva alone drew his weapon. Piñchadeva who moved round as he struck was surrounded by the three murderers who equally returned his blows; his body streamed with blood and he was driven out of the room. Sujji's attendants closed the doors [from outside] leaving the foes and darkness within, and surrounded them with the purpose to kill them. They too remained in the room bolting the doors. In the darkness, the three opposed their enemies, and when the door was broken by the latter, they removed the cotton

bed and lifted the corpse. The followers of Sujji showered swords, arrows, darts, axes, knives and stones and tried to enter by various ways and frightened those within. The three, situated in a perilous position and in despair, cut off Sujji's head from his trunk and threw it in the courtyard at their enemies. The eyelids and ears were whitened with continuous tears, and his nose, covered by his hair, hung on his lower lip. The pupils of his eyes which were a little open reflected the images of men moving about, and it thus seemed that the eyes themselves were moving. The head was cut off from the joint by several strokes, the muscles came off from their attachments in the bone, and the fat looked as if dyed with turmeric. The hair of the head and beard was besmeared with dust; the marks of saffron alone on the forehead indicated that the head was Sujji's. And as it fell aslant, it showed the teeth at the junction of the lips. When Sujji's servants saw the head, they raised a loud lamentation and fled away wherever they could.

The king, after he had sent the three desperadoes, remained anxious; but when he heard the uproar of men, he knew that something desperate was done. Accordingly, as previously advised, the king ordered the soldiers to collect and surround Sujji's house. But when he heard these words that "it was in vain that the king had escaped from the hands of Sujji;" he hastily prepared himself for fight. He knew for certain that Sujji was killed. The attendants of the king bound Shivaratha who

was there and whom all envied. My present narration is honored by the account of the conduct displayed on that day by Kalasha, son of Hilla, who was brother of Sujji's brother's wife. Bhikṣhu and others were in danger; and behaved at the end, like heroes; but Kalasha was not in any danger, but sought to perform a noble deed. When he heard the words [mentioned above] in the king's palace, he planned to sacrifice his life, and being suffered to escape, he went to his deceased master. He tried to break open the door by kicking, but was removed by the powerful soldiers of the king and his life was, with difficulty, saved. He was wounded but not severely. When he had entered another room, Kularāja and others who had escaped with their lives went to the king. Kalasha who was with difficulty wounded by the enemies by an arrow from a distance forcibly entered the room and killed a powerful soldier.

Sañjapāla, who had arrived at that place of disturbance, was speedily sent by the king to destroy Rilhaṇa and Ulhaṇa. Rilhaṇa apprehended that Sañjapāla had fled from the road; and arrived after wandering about the banks of the Kṣhiptikā. Sañjapāla opposed the way of Ulhaṇa, as the latter issued out of the gate, and severely beat him in the fight. He then arrived at the spot before Rilhaṇa. But his right arm was cut by some one's sword, so that only the skin was left, the bone and tendon being cut, he severed it off. In his family whose worth is almost beyond description, he had attained

reputation in foreign as well as in his own country by the skill of his arm; but when the time for reaping the fruit arrived, such an arm which was the pledge of valor became maimed. Fie to the unsteady will of Fate! There was no change in Sañjapāla in the time of his prosperity, but the people would have wondered if that prosperity had continued, for they know that Fate is fickle. If the body of Ṛāhu who had tasted of the amṛita had not been maimed, how could the world have known of the well known fickleness of Fate?

Sahadeva's son who was severely wounded quickly killed Sañjapāla's father's brother, the old Shīla, who was found there. The respected Jajjala was weary and was entering his house preceded by an attendant; the attendant was killed as also a soldier and a Chaṇḍāla sentinel. Jajjala's little boy was seated in the court-yard, but was coming out when he saw his father's party, when Rilhaṇa caused the house to be set on fire. From the darkness caused by the smoke, Jajjala was brought out by the principal soldiers, tied, and faint with wounds, and was killed at the gate of the house by some low persons. When the king saw his head, he thought that his principal subjects were perishing, and his rage became ungovernable. The soldiers who were sent by the king, in their fury, killed Sujji's servants, great and small, who displayed befitting valor. Lakṣhaka, the younger brother of Sujji, was taken, bound, and some cruel men, on seeing the king angry, killed him in the

court-yard of the palace. Saṅkaṭa, son of Lakṣhaka's father's brother, and a worthy man, limped like an actor in the king's court-yard and yielded his life as he should have done. His mad brother Mummuni, as he entered the house, was, by some wicked men of the line of Vāṇa, killed in his own house. Chitriya, Sujji's wife's brother, born of noble family, was killed by red lead (poison). The wounded door-keeper named Saṅgika was slowly killed and the other dependants of Sujji were killed in different places. Two or three of the well born Virapāla and others, saved their lives by the swiftness of their horses. They came to Koṣhṭeshvara, and then they laid aside their fear of death. It was autumn when Saṅkaṭa was going out; on the way his horse was stopped by the tumult of the wicked men, and he was confined in soldiers' quarters. And then, Sajjala son of Sujji, Shvetika, son of Sujji's elder brother, and the son of Ulhaṇa were thrown into prison with him. Thus when the king and the minister were under the influence of the wicked, this commotion happened in the year 9, on the fifth bright lunar day of summer. Though in some matters the minister Sujji betrayed want of strength, yet the king thinks of him and grieves for him even to this day. It is truly fearful to serve a king, as it is to invoke spirits or to leap over a chasm or to chew poison or to embrace a serpent. If the actions of a man who is faithful to kings are not tested according to their own conscience, he is like one kept before a [running] carriage, and

how can he enjoy pleasure? The king considered Sujji's murder to be wrong, but the people thought it right and as a manifestation of the king's great power.

The king served Sañjapāla by making him lord of Kampana, and Kularāja, superintendent of the capital. Dhanya and Udaya, favorites of the king, left Mallārjjuna and came to the capital and began to prosper as before. The goddess of prosperity left all others, and changing her fickle character, settled steadfastly on Chitraratha. He had immense wealth, and distressed the country by chastisements, and became uncontrolled; and even the king was unable to check him. Koṭṭesha killed Ṭikka in a village named Gandharvvāna and sent his head to the king on the other side [of the river].

At the time when the king gained great power, Loṭhanadeva, on receiving repeated assurance from the spies who were oppressed and who were naturally inimical to the king, forcibly entered Hāḍigrāma at night, accompanied by Koshṭeshvara. The Lavanya [chief] had made peace with the enraged king, and immediately drove Loṭhana out from his well renowned town. Loṭhana now forcibly ruled the country which Koshṭaka had obtained and which was under Uchchala and others. He wanted firmness, and foolish as he was, he became the object of laughter of the people. The king purposed to destroy him by employing the Tīkshṇas and other soldiers, and by adopting other means. Koshṭaka who had lost his senses, and was angry and displeased with

the king, was a match for the Tīkṣhṇas, and made his preparations to fight against the sovereign. He ordered the leaders of his army to enter the capital through their respective territories, while he again himself attacked it with soldiers of different descriptions. The powerful Koṣhṭaka arrived at the capital, and when he learnt that the king who arrived there hurriedly was attended by a small force, kept his army concealed. When the battle commenced, Chitraratha was accidentally defeated by a section of Koṣhṭaka's army, although he had a large force. As the recitation of the Oṁm by the females is injurious to their welfare, so was the defeat to Chitraratha. From that time his prosperity daily declined.

As an elephant finds increased difficulties in ascending a hill, even so the powerful Lavanya found his difficulties heightened when after fighting with Rilhaṇa, he arrived in the evening before the lord of Kampana. He was without his army which was completely scattered, but was accompanied with enraged followers, less than a hundred in number. What need be said of this tiger-like man, who, as the battle raged hotter, did not consider his armour as a protection to his body. Tattṛillaka and other Lavanyas arrived, having at the very beginning repulsed their angry enemies. But they remained neutral at that critical time owing to their tenderness for their own kinsmen. This was of some advantage to the Lavanya chief who drove away his enemies by his valor.

He had timely prepared himself for war. In times of truce, he used to keep up nights with his army, and with a view to ensure victory, he had enlisted men beforehand and did not allow his soldiers to desert; nor did he appropriate the treasures he had siezed in war. These virtues made his enemies waver. What praise is not due to one who has forbearance?

Koṣhṭaka was mistrustful, and deserted by his attendants and harassed in battles, he intended to flee. With that view he descended from the hill, but the way of the horses was blocked up by an untimely fall of snow, and the enemies who hung in the rear prevented his attempts to escape. Distressed at the disgrace and driven out of the country by the king, he went [on pilgrimage] to the Ganges to bathe, with a few attendants.

Somapāla, driven by his son named Bhūpāla and grieved at the faction which prevailed for a long time in his own kingdom, went to the king [of Kāshmīra] and sought his protection. The king who loved those who asked for his shelter, promised safety to Somapāla and also to Nāgapāla who had given away his wealth to his two sons. The king, whose character was ennobled by real magnanimity, did not at this time of danger resent the crafty conduct of Somapāla who was the cause of calamity to a great kingdom. But in order to help Nāgapāla, the king gave him his own army, crushed the pride of his enemies and re-established the stability of

the kingdom. In the meantime Koshṭaka returned after his ablutions in the Ganges, and taking Mallārjjuna on his side, set about to raise a faction in the kingdom. At the time of the solar eclipse, the prince was at Kurukshetra. He waived his former enmity towards the Lavanya and went to him in order to serve his purpose. Loṭhana came there invited, but when he heard that the prince was with the Ḍāmara (Lavanya), he was unable to establish peace between himself and the Lavanya, and returned by the way he had come. Though the evil-minded Somapāla had received the king's money, he remained negligent when the king's enemies entered the place before the temple of Vijayesha. In order to please the king, Somapāla's son caused Koshṭaka to be robbed of his properties by the Ṭhakkuras.

In the meantime the excessive oppression of Chitraratha became unbearable, and the twice-born people (Brāhmaṇas) at Avantipura did not wish to have him and held a religious fast. Chitraratha who did not fear even the king despised the twice-born through his pride, and many of them sacrificed themselves in the burning fire through grief. In the pasture land of the cows which were kept for religious purposes, a cowherd, though surrounded by his dependants, threw himself into the fire out of sympathy [for the Brāhmaṇas.] Vijayarāja son of Prithvīrāja the bard, and born in a well known family, saw the calamity that befell there. He became very sorrowful and wished to go to some other country.

After shedding tears of sympathy, he thus addressed his younger brother—"The king has become inactive owing to his fondness for Chitraratha; and behold his subjects, neglected by him, and entangled in the net of the ministers, are being destroyed. Who will protect the poor from danger where the king neglects them, in order to humour the ministers? It generally happens, that when a commotion occurs, through mutual rivalry, either the protector punishes the protected or the protected punish the protector. The roughness of a hard stone is sometimes smoothed by the rubbing of iron, while sometimes the stone makes the iron straight. The king is radiant with every virtue, and should not be detested for one fault. I see nothing else that can be done, except murdering Chitraratha. If one small offence proves to be universally beneficial, then it is a virtue; and even the great Buddha killed the serpent, the devourer of animals. When that wicked man is killed by us, no governor will again oppress the subjects, out of fear of spirited men. If by the sacrifice of this life, the lives of numberless men be made happy, then O! brother! is not the bargain good?" Thus he advised his brother who attentively listened to him, and then came to Kaṅkoshapīthina and went after Chitraratha in order to kill him. Even in this Kaliyuga which is turbid with feebleness of virtue, the power of Brāhmaṇas shines unbroken. As the power of Brāhmaṇas up roots evil, even so those who retained their full measure of virtue could

not bear the evil any longer. Sujji who oppressed the Brāhmaṇas was killed by a Brāhmaṇa, and Chitraratha who insulted the Brāhmaṇas was murdered by a Brāhmaṇa. The heart of Vijayarāja was full of grief for the action of the twice-born [in burning themselves,] and he thought of destroying Chitraratha, even by giving up his own life, though he was not compelled to do that act at such a sacrifice. At the time that the Brāhmaṇas burnt themselves, the disgust of Vijayarāja knew no bounds. During several nights the [intended] murderer found no access to Chitraratha, and he kept himself awake day and night. Chitraratha was attended by a large force, and he walked between rows of the leaders of armies, in the middle of the force; and being in the centre, he could sometimes be seen and sometimes not. Once when Chitraratha had gone past the stairs of the palace, Vijayarāja, who had become hard of heart by a strange firmness, swiftly went after him; and though Chitraratha was surrounded by the leaders of armies, Vijayarāja, possessed of wonderful courage, struck him on the head with his sword, in front of a pillar, and laid him on the ground. There he lay like one dying, his memory began to fade, and his eyes rolled above, and his prowess was lost. The attendants believed that he was killed by the [orders of the] king, and bewildered and much frightened, they left him in that state. Believing him to be dead, Vijayarāja did not again strike him, and forbade his brother who had arrived there by another

flight of stairs, to strike. Though all the ways were safe, Vijayarāja fled not, but repeatedly called out that Chitraratha had been killed by the king. Chitraratha's cowardly attendants who used to go forward for the "fried meat" of the kingdom, fled in fear. Lauṭharatha, Chitraratha's elder brother, fled in fear and took shelter with a dancing woman by taking her breast in his mouth. Chitraratha was brought to the king in his present plight, and the king told him not to fear and asked him who had struck him; and with these words he gave him courage. The soldiers searched for the murderer and enquired what Tīkṣhṇa (desperado) had, by the king's order, killed the lord of Dvāra? The cool-headed Vijayarāja became violent and showed admirable prowess. He killed thirty soldiers and wounded twenty; and when hurt in the foot, he pointed out to himself and said "It was I." "For the delivery of the good, for the establishment of virtue, I take birth in every Yuga." This shloka, explaining the cause of his action, was written in a holy scroll which was found in his hand, and in which mention was also made of the end of time. Chitraratha was wounded, pierced at the junction of the bones of the head, and he lost his appetite and became insane and feeble. Weak and without comfort, he spent five months in his bed surrounded by men.

At this time Koṣhṭaka took Mallārjjuna with him, and with a view to create a commotion in the kingdom, arrived at Giridurga which was well defended with trees.

As men are oppressed with dulness at the sudden appearance of a cloud, so the people soon became disheartened at the presence of the enemy's army. Koshṭaka who had come traversing many a mile, surrounded the woods and villages with his attendants and completely blockaded Tarudurga (Giridurga). But when Sañjapāla arrived in the camp with his fleet cavalry, the enemies became motionless, like the still trees in a windless place. Dhanyaka whose army was supplied with graineries filled with corn, sat like a lion who cannot bear the smell of elephants, his foes. Rilhaṇa was, by the king's orders, encamped at Govasa with his force. He moved about in the wood and harassed the enemies, as the sun-light does vermins.

By these acts of the very powerful king, Koshṭeshvara became quiet, and for three or four months he could not move. He was harassed in a foreign country, driven by the neighbouring potentates and deserted by his followers; his plans were frustrated by the officers of the king, and owing to his ignorance, he was unable to understand the behaviour of kings. Forgetful of his wrongs and dismissed from his post, he wished to make peace with the king. He tried to assuage the king's anger; and Sañjapāla attempted with humility derived from devotion, to further his purpose, considering it a shame to disappoint him. The king's enemy [Koshṭeshvara] cut off his finger and sent it to the king, but could not allay his wrath. [His messenger] tied the

turban round his neck, bore shoes on his head and waited long, but could not remove the king's anger. The king did not accept two or three objects, symbols befitting a sovereign [which Koshṭeshvara had sent], but gave orders like a king and behaved proudly like a sovereign. In the meantime he learnt that Mallārjjuna was seized on his way. Good luck waits on prosperity. Mallārjjuna was being carried by his servants on their shoulders, his legs being like those of a goat, [defective], he could not walk on the road. When he had passed the dangerous places and had arrived at the village Sabarṇika, revered in Lohara, he was arrested by a Ṭhakkura named Jaggika who had placed sentinels there. The king heard that this benefactor and servant, together with Mallārjjuna had arrived. Mallārjjuna had been captured [once before] by his enemies, but had escaped from the fort by some means, but he was now again seized by them. Who can escape that which must happen? The Ganges, which flows through heaven, issued with difficulty out of the stomach of a great Ṛishi, and falling into the sea was again drunk up by another Muni. No one is able to escape that which must happen. The very wise king had sent Udaya, lord of Dvāra, to Jaggika who had placed guards far and near in order to seize [Mallārjjuna] who had once been captured. The king thought that without Udaya, who was a man of great coolness, gravity, heroism and discretion, the common people would be at a loss to act in the critical time. By

paying in two different ways [*i. e.* paying regular dues and bribes?], Udaya passed over the obstacles in the road and saw the king's enemy at Tamori. Udaya with a wonderful coolness which showed his prowess, praised him outwardly by various words, and thus again said :—"You chief of the wise! You who greatly value a praiseworthy devotion to master, you have been drawn away [from the king] by madness.—You are like a jewel of security; and as I had not you as my refuge, the wicked king was able, under various pretences, to do injuries to my territory during my boyhood. The king is like the sun; and men can scarcely gaze on him, but when he is in misfortune, as when the sun is in the dewy season, people can look upon him. That sovereign is worthy of praise, who, like the sun, alike in the time of rising and at the time of setting, shines blood-red, like a copper disk. His advent is fortunate, at the tint of whose fierce ascent, the Apsarās are alarmed, and at whose setting, citizen's wives are grieved. Employed in my post, and like a nobleman who has got a little money, I have become foolish like an elderly poet. Now make me a promise which is difficult to fulfil, and grant me a boon and give peace to my heart." Thus he said, and in order to have assurance, the lord of Dvāra placed a crystal liṅga, together with its seat, before Mallārjjuna to touch. Mallārjjuna believed that the lord of Dvāra was making him promise to fight in fair field against the soldiers who used missiles, spears and arrows.

He touched the Shivalinga and promised to grant the lord of Dvāra the boon he desired. Udaya then said :— "Unwounded and alive as you are now, I ask you to appear publicly before the king." On hearing his words defiled with baseness, all became stupified with shame, and like leaves, wet with rains, turned their faces towards the ground. Mallārjjuna then remembered how easy the mind of Bhikṣhu was at his last moments, and his heart became light. He ascended the vehicle carried by men, he felt no shame and looked on his followers without betraying any agitation of mind, and was led by Udaya. He was dragged in the way, like an animal, but he was not touched by emotion. He took his usual meals and had good sleep. The people who saw him led by the guards in that state were touched with pity. They did not congratulate the king but said, "It does not look well for the king, elder by birth, to use such unkindness towards the younger brother who is fatherless, and who is the object of pity. His eyes are like the black lotus and his person is pleasant to behold. Who that has a heart unlike a sword can torment such a body and disfigure it?" The people did not know of their previous history, and forgetful of Mallārjjuna's faults, they reproached the king in the streets when they saw him, in various manner. What judgment can there be in boys and in fools? The feelings even of great men do not always remain in the same state. Listeners become angry with the sons of Dhṛitarāṣhṭra, rather than

with Pāṇḍu's sons when they hear of the play at dice, and of the daughter of Pañchāla dragged by the hair. But when they hear of the quaffing of the blood of the sons of Kuru and of the blow hit on the head [of Duryyadhana] when his thigh was broken, their anger is turned against the sons of Pāṇḍu. Excepting the moderate minded people others cannot judge the merits of actions; and hence the king's acts were so misjudged. How could it be otherwise? Mallārjjuna rode on a carriage drawn by a pair and bore on his lap an earthen vessel marked with the [blood of] the finger which was cut, making the citizens weep as he went, and reached the capital in the evening.

In the year 11, on the day of the full moon, in the month Āshvina, the king placed Mallārjjuna with guards in Navamaṭha. For five nights he remained without food, and sorrowful and longing to touch the king's feet. The king went to him through pity and promised him protection. Mallārjjuna then told the king what the king had wished to learn, he said that the rebels Chitraratha and Koshṭaka surely deserved execution.

The king then intended to accomplish the arrest of Koshṭaka who was going out to his own territory. He sent Rilhaṇa and others, five trustworthy men. When all had lost their power, and the king alone remained active, Rilhaṇa with his arms caught hold of Koshṭaka as one catches a fish. Koshṭaka's weapon was snatched away, and he remained motionless within the cage like arms of the strong Rilhaṇa, blind with sleep as if dulled

by evil spirits. Bhihkharāja, a hot-tempered man and son of Kularāja's brother, made a deep cut in the neck of Koṣhṭaka by the means of a sword, out of devotion to the king. Pṛithvīpāla, a follower of the king, was about to strike with an axe on the head of Koṣhṭaka in anger, when the king prevented him. Surrounded on all sides, and struck in a vital part in the bone of the neck, Koṣhṭaka lay on the ground struggling and weltering in blood. His younger brother Chatuṣhka was stretched on the ground by Kamaliya and others, men of great strength, as a rock is felled by an elephant. When Mallaka, a twice-born, saw his two masters seized and thus killed by mutilation, he drew his knife and stood up. He came to the mingled strife unnoticed by any one but by the king, and struck the king's followers great and small. Kularāja with his knife ran towards this man of great strength who destroyed many soldiers of the king. Mallaka's blows fell fast on his antagonists, and the athlete Kularāja, unable to kill him, drove him against a wall. There stood Kularāja who knew various tactics, but was unable to go away or to stay, or to strike, and stopped Mallaka who remained unmoved. And when Padmarāja created a noise by stamping his feet and jumped and made a sound with his arm and in this way ran near to Mallaka, Mallaka turned his eyes towards him. Kularāja took advantage of this opportunity and struck him on his breast, but as he was retiring after striking, Mallaka cut his thumb. And when the

stout Vijjarāja, hot with pride, struck Mallaka, he returned the blow, but both instantly fell on him. When the king appeared in view at the door of the four-cornered room, Mallaka left his three antagonists and ran towards the king. At the time when the king was thus singled out, Kularāja ran swiftly in alarm and cut off the speed of Mallâka by cutting him in the bone of the buttocks. Then was Mallaka surrounded by all the warriors, but he quickly killed the weak and the strong, and then stretched himself in the bed of heroes, making the stream of blood his bed-sheet. He was observed by his master who was still alive, though in extreme danger. Mallaka's prowess was praiseworthy but his end was undesirable. He too was counted among heroes.

When the servants of Koshṭaka fled away outside, a Ḍāmara named Janakachandra with much coolness feigned great poverty. He was without a weapon, but snatching an axe sent many to the king of death as the first messengers with the tidings of battle. As he tried to retire, the sharp shining axe which longed to divide the marrow of the backbone looked in his hand as the crescent of the moon. The proud and chaste wife of Koshṭâka behaved, at the time when her husband was arrested, in the way the like of which we have never seen and never heard. She disregarded the words of her friends who told her that her husband would revive, and that she would get him again, and she threw herself into the fire. The fire that was polluted by the desire to

embrace the wives of the seven Ṛishis became hallowed by the feet of her who departed to the region of chaste women. She was the daughter of Vasanta, the brother of Dhanyodaya, and proud of being born in a pure family, she did not act like the wives of the Ḍāmaras. The widows of the Lavanyas (Ḍāmaras) gratify their co-villagers and relatives with their embraces for the last of wealth. The proud Koshṭaka was wholly prostrated by the loss of sense, but his head was lifted high [*i. e.* he was honored] by his wife and his two attendants. He was wounded, and through some sin, worms preyed on him, and though lifeless, he lay in prison for some nights.

Now, Chitraratha who was feeble with consumption heard that the king was under the evil influence of Mallārjjuna, and became very much distressed through fear. His only wife, the chaste and beloved Asuyamatī was dead; she was the pledge of his prosperity before her death. He had become satiated with pleasures, he had no wife in his house, and his master was alienated from him. For these reasons he was very unhappy; he thought that though guilty, no injury would come to him from the king as long as he lived in a place of pilgrimage; so he went to Sureshvarī on pretence to die there. The king took possession, from Chitraratha's house, of various kinds of wealth which had enriched Chitraratha more than Kuvera. The gold, clothes, armours, horses, jewels, weapons and other things displayed their augmented beauty; and with these the king who

had been reduced by the rebellion of Lohara, prospered, as the tree dried up by the heat of summer, grows by the watering of a mountain stream.

Though the commotions had long ceased, Vijaya, son of Bhava, lived in the wood and had become timid, and like a frog which does not leave its well, he did not leave Shrīkalyāṇapura. Royal Fortune was imprisoned in his house, sleepless and wan through anxiety, as if the rays of the white umbrella were reflected on her. The king sent Ānanda, a Tīkṣhṇa to him. Vijaya knew of this and killed Ānanda, but was also killed by him.

Thus king Jayasiṃha ruled the subjects, and thus passed his time full of great excitements. When Chitraratha had gone to the place of pilgrimage, his two servants Shṛiṅgāra and Janaka who desired to touch his feet [to serve him] became bards. The king gave large bribe to Shṛiṅgāra whom Janaka deserted, and Shṛiṅgāra promised to the king [to serve his end] and became a sharer in the enjoyment of his master's (Chitraratha's) wealth. The king again bestowed on Udaya, the province of Dvāra which Udaya had long possessed, as the rainy season brings to the banks, the waves of the river. Chitraratha long suffered remorse for his wicked actions, and expired in eight months, leaving but his name behind. Let us pray to Him by whose power even the pure minded becomes an object of laughter and the foul and impure becomes indispensible, who can render the words of the stupid man acceptable, and can subdue ancient

dignity,—to Him who is universally known and yet Inconceivable.

The son of Sañjaka (Shriṅgāra) had become the favorite of the fickle-minded and wayward king during his boyhood by the reprehensible game at dice. And when the king obtained the kingdom, he wearied Shriṅgāra by sending him day and night to Chitraratha with betels. Engaged in the duty of a messenger, he was ignorant of all other work, but he afterwards secured the confidence of the king by getting him those of Chitraratha's servants who discovered to the king, Chitraratha's treasures. At this time there were no great ministers in the kingdom, and he obtained the post of the prime minister. The king who was in the habit of making bad selections, through ignorance, did no wrong in trusting this man, or in squandering money in food and in garments for women. For he considered his action commendable in having given paddy to his gurus according to his liberality. He added to the silver shrine of Sureshvarī, his own stock of silver and thus deserved emancipation. This king maintained with great pomp and large expenditure of gold, for five years from the full moon of Āṣhāḍha, the worship of the image which was originally set up by Champaka and others at Nandikṣhetra, and which kings cannot approach even in speech. The king trusted in persons who even in pastimes were known to be worthless, but who through the influence of their master's

affection performed unheard of actions. When young women adorned Mahādeva for the sake of amusement, and placed the serpent round his neck, as an ornament, the serpent often slided down; but the snake did not slide when tied to the firm bow of Sihva at the bidding of the enemy of Tripura. Who does not acquire strength at the command of his master?

Rilhaṇa and Dhanya brought over Janaka and Shṛiṅgāra to their side by bribe for mutual support and in order to attain their object. The king had once siezed Janaka together with his ornament, the pearl necklace, and caused Shṛiṅgāra with his wives and children to weep. He once felt romorse and dishonored Shṛiṅgāra, after he had entreated both Shṛiṅgāra and Janaka with bribe. One of them attained his object by his habit of moving about the ring in his little finger by the nail of his thumb, by his manner of drawing up the upper lip when speaking, by his uncouth voice and eyes, by the movement of his brows which protruded the skin of his forehead which was low and yet protuberant; but he became the object of the people's laughter. The speech of the other was indistinct and harsh, he was garrulous, and in times of pleasure would shut his eyes, and clasp his hands when he laughed.

The king is possessed of a mind which overcomes all and is immoveable, and he has attained the highest place among the virtuous by his pious acts. This rich sovereign performed acts of kindness in times of danger,

like Buddha, even as the sandal wood relieves the burning limbs during fever. He tended with due treatment the gurus, the learned, the twice-born, the helpless and others, and those forsaken by their kindred. The pure minded and admirable king white washed the line of houses of Vijayesha and of other gods, and made them look like mount Kailāsha. He has a passion for repairing delapidated buildings, and he always delights in repairing schools, temples, gardens, lakes and canals. He once showed enmity towards religious students, and stupid people call him a receptacle of cruelty. The Ganges, which delights the world, fills the seven seas, and sanctifies Brahmā, washes, at the same time, the place where the elephants of the gods were burnt; a bad deed once done does not soil one's reputation.

At this time the twice-born Shivaratha who was a great conspirator, and worse than a Kāyastha, was executed by a cord tied round his neck. The well behaved king thus destroyed his enemies and freed the kingdom of foes. When the enemies who restrain kings are destroyed, kings generally appear fiercer, like the sun released from clouds. The latter days of the king have been prosperous, and the excessive sweetness of this jewel among sovereigns is like the sweetness of grapes just beginning to ripen. He encourages the performance of religious sacrifices with incessant gifts to Brāhmaṇas, and he also encourages marriages, pilgrimages and proper religious festivities. He helps in the completion

of religious performance by pious men by supplying them with his own provisions, as the moon by his own power makes certain plants in the Kula mountains,* luminous. The sedate king promises to help with all necessary things, in the performance of marriages of the citizens' sons. For the increase of his treasure, he gave permission to owners of extensive forests to reclaim their lands, and he repaired the capital. The wise see with wonder his excessive fervour, like that of a Ṛishi, in the worship of Hara, though he is engrossed in the duties of a king. From morning to evening he performs no act which is not guided by the wise. Jayāpīḍa and others, by their kingly grace, made wisdom shine amidst the deep darkness of injustice, like fleeting lightning in the clouds. But this king, by the gift of things of permanent value, prevented, like the rays of jewels, his other virtues from being known.

He built very high houses for the learned, and the seven Ṛishis,† as if to see their beauty, spread themselves out over their head. Owing to religious sacrifices performed with intelligence, the wisdom of the learned became pure, and travelling by road became safe. The noise of the falling water with which the Liṅga was bathed, and which he listened forsaking the sounds of the flute and the lute, as he lay in his bed, was as dear to him as the varied speech of the learned, untainted with envy. The

* The seven great mountains of the ancient Hindus.

† The seven brightest stars in the Great Bear.

temples &c., which were set up in the times of Shrīlalitāditya, Avantivarmmā and others were now brought to perfection. The king made perpetual grants for all schools and houses of gods set up during his reign. The maṭha of Ratnādevī to whom her husband [the king] was strongly attached was the best of all that were set up.

At this time Rilhaṇa who was the friend of the worthy was, of all the ministers, the first traveller in the path of virtue. Though this pure-minded man lived in a house of amusement, yet he could never forsake the chief Ṛiṣhis and the elders in religion. His life was not void of virtue acquired by the gift of the skin of black deer, by giving shelter to men, by oblations, by good deeds, and by helping in the marriage of girls. This great man bestowed things suited for religious sacrifices on all the fire-worshipping Brāhmaṇas, and made the performance of their work easy. His heart was untouched by envy, and in the wonderful sacrificial feast which he held, the people of the sixty-four castes enjoyed the delightful objects of enjoyment. By bestowing valuable villages on Brāhmaṇas, by building large schools and bridges, he embellished the two cities of the two Pravarasenas. In the city of Pravarasena, I. he set up the wonderful Rilhaṇeshvara [an image of a god] which was the chief of all the religious monuments he built. This pious man, for the memory of his wife Sussalā who was dead, caused a vihāra to be built for the Buddhists,

at the place called Akaprapā. A female cat died of grief for the death of Rilhaṇa's wife, and Rilhaṇa feared lest he should forget the affection due to the brute creation, and called the vihāra after the cat. In that district soiled by envy, and not far from the town, this cat lived and was dear to her master, as a human being. From the day on which Rilhaṇa went on pilgrimage, the cat ceased to take food which was brought to her, and died of grief without a groan.

Diddā, among the wives of kings and Sussalā, among the wives of ministers, reached the utmost perfection of virtue by setting up various religious establishments. Sussalā built the maṭha of Shrīchaṅkuṇa of stone which till then had existed only in name. She attained perfection in all kinds of virtues by building wells with masonary works, small wells, houses for students and other works. The whole city looked beautiful on account of her maṭha which covered the entire sacrificial land of the ancient lines of kings. She rapidly wasted away by consumption, and died at Shrīsureshvarī; and her death was like a harbinger of her absorption in the Deity attained by her setting up religious edifices.

The Brāhmaṇa village and the edifices built by Dhanya did not fulfil the purpose for which they were raised. How can fame be obtained without virtue? In the like manner, the religious edifices built by Udaya, lord of Kampana, in the villages of the Brāhamaṇas, and named after him, served no useful purpose except that they

went by his name. Udaya, lord of Dvāra, with the help of the Gaṇa sect of Brahmapurī, built a beautiful religious edifice in which the lotus tank looked beautiful. At Shrīdvāra, Shṛiṅgāratantrapati, a jewel of a Brāhmaṇa and an owner of a large mart, built a religious edifice with garden and tank, and he adorned the earth by erecting rooms for bathing, religious edifices, and a bridge at Brahmapurī, and by similar works. The maṭha of Shṛiṅgārabhaṭṭa near that of Bhaṭṭāraka was like a well in an expanded ocean, and was deservedly forgotten. Jaṭṭa, the minister for peace and war of the lord of Dārvvābhisāra, and prone to pious work, set up the image of the eight faced [Mahādeva].

Among the trees, karavīra alone, owing to the loveliness of its flowers, has the dignity of beauty, and the flowers become useful in the worship of the Shivaliṅga. So among the several ministers of the king, one alone named Bhuṭṭa, younger brother of Jahla, attained dignified excellence. The offering which he made to Mahādeva the Jyeshṭarudra, otherwise called the Bālakeshvara, and set up by Vashishṭa, was accepted by the god who appeared in person. There he built a town without a defect, named Bhuṭṭapura with maṭhas, religious schools and high buildings. In the capital also he set up a Hara, named Bhuṭṭeshvara, and in the village of Maḍava he excavated a tank named Dharmmavibhramadarpana.

The queen Ratnādevī set up a religious school named Vaikunṭha and maṭhas and other edifices, and with

her own money made arrangements for their permanent maintenance. At Ratnapura, a town of great value, and which had many gates, the spotless religious school was the receptacle of virtue, and looked like a large cage for a swan. Mahādeva graced by his presence her white washed houses, like a white light, to destroy the transient state of man's existence. When she built sheds for cows, Shūravarmmā and the other builders were reckoned as cows. There [at Ratnāpura] adorned with cowsheds, where the kine roamed unrestricted, and which was washed by the waves of the Vitastā, she parted with her deseased body (died). At Nandikṣhetra she had raised religious schools, and in the principal places of the Yavanas she had built delightful maṭhas. In Dārvvā she built a town like the city of Indra, and named it after her name. It contained a beautiful and grand house befitting a king. The queen who was kind towards her dependants built various monuments consecrated to the memory of the great, the honored and the principal men who were dead.

The world held such jewels of women who were its ornaments. The chief among the kings made his own maṭha a specially desirable object. He was without vanity, and gave away in gifts many villages, the principal among which was celebrated as Siṃhapura by those who knew of his gifts. In this place the son of the daughter of the lord of Kārapatha established a

colony of the twice-born who were going to Sindhu and of the rough out caste people of Draviḍa who formerly lived at Siddhachchhatra. What need is there of narrating about the construction of maṭhas &c. by the king who turned the whole of Kashmīra into villages and towns. Owing to the troubles of the time, the country had become like a wasted forest, but the king again made it wealthy, populous and full of houses. From the beginning, when he engaged himself in giving what was asked from him, men of skill built maṭhas and houses of gods. He was not jealous, and when he gave valuable riches, clothes and jewels for the use of the public, the citizens celebrated various great festivities. About this time the shāli crop was destroyed by the sudden fall of snow, by fire and similar troubles, but there was no severe famine. Strange things happened, for though at night the voices of the Rakṣhasas were heard, and omens like comets were seen, people did not die. The king killed the rebellious Chhuḍḍa, the younger brother of the lord of Koundha by secret punishment. The king also destroyed Vikramarāja and other kings in Vallāpura &c., and raised Guhlaṇa and others to sovereignty. This sun among sovereigns, enriched honorable men out of his affection for them by giving them possession of beautiful lands in Kānyakubja and other places.

At one time Yashodhara, king of Darad, a place where good counsel did not prevail, was during his life

time reduced to poverty. Though his kingdom was situated next to that of the king of Kashmīra, yet he had become the favourite of the king of Kashmīra by rendering great service in time of danger. His son was overpowered by the ministers and his condition was pitiable.. For his own minister Viḍḍasiṃha snatched the kingdom from him, violated his queen and gave the kingdom to his minor son. But when after gradually subduing the country, the minister intended to destroy the boy who was king only in name in order to usurp the kingdom, another minister named Paryyuka set up another son of Yashodhara and commenced hostilities. When Paryyuka turned his back towards the people of Kashmīra and left unnoticed Sañjapāla and others who were capable of undertaking all things, and began the civil war, the wise king of Kashmīra, led by his prejudices which clogged his intellect, thought it would be a useless display of pride to send the Superintendent of Affairs or other officers like him to support Hevaka.* He therefore sent his minor brother Sujji as his minister to Paryyuka. Paryyuka could not be overcome by force. What a difference is there between business-like, influential and powerful men with all conquering and unshaken genius who constructed wonderful kingdoms, and boys and foolish men ignorant of the practices of courts? Fie to the troublesome wantonness of kings which brings afflictions in the end! The

* The prince whom Paryyuka befriended.

enemies who live near the country and those who become hostile from interested motives try to destroy prosperity. They conceal their knowledge of armies, kingdoms, forts, treasures &c.; they take advice in every work they do; and if friendship be contracted with them, their sincerity cannot be relied upon.

As a tree in the midst of a narrow stream is not felled by the current even when the banks give way, so the king of Darad could not be drawn into the civil war between the minors. The king of Darad neglected to obtain any advantage from Paryyuka who was willing to accept bribes in many important matters. Viḍḍasiṃha made peace with Paryyuka, and Sujji returned as he had gone, whereupon the king of Kashmīra was angry.

Shṛingāra in his newly appointed post of the Superintendent of Affairs became, within a short time, like a tree in a stream, and died. He displayed himself in various ways, as a waterfall flowing through a hundred channels, by the light of the spotted moon. At this time other ministers in obeying the orders of their noble master suddenly died. We do not praise the foolish kings who place young boys, sons of deceased ministers, in the places of their fathers. But the servants of the ministers inaugurated a new custom. Without feeling shame they appropriated the wealth of their masters as they would do their own wives. They gave presents to the king, did some

little services to their masters' children, and then robbed the wealth of their deceased masters. When the treasurer Vishva died, Sahaja alone became the protector [of Vishva's children]. At this period such men who offered assistance were rare. Though requested by the king, Sahaja did not accept his master's post, but helped in the aggrandizement of his master's son named Ṭishṭa. Fie to employers who see servants negligent in their devotion to their master but still raise them to prosperity. When the feet of Brahmā, the foe of the Asuras, were weary with walking over the world, he had in his vessel the water of the Three Streams (Ganges) to wet his throat, and so overcome his fatigue. Mahādeva therefore placed that water on his head. So if one admires even a dull object, all others, one after another, greatly welcome it and are stupified with it.

When Sujji was away from the country, the tree of his iniquities nourished by Sājjijāḍya was about to bear fruit. Viḍḍasiṃha remained indignant for two or three years. He took refuge with the warrior king [of Kashmīra] and with his friends, he put down from a distance, the rising of the people by means of active trade and agriculture. He engaged himself in conspiracy with Alaṅkārachakra and other Ḍāmaras who were related by marriage to the ministers of Darad. At the time when he first marched out with a view to obtain possession of the mountains and forts, a low

person named Janakabhadra had become his friend; this man now expired by his side. In Karṇāṭa and in many other places through which he was seen to pass, some rose in rebellion and some became friendly. He planned to enter [the capital of Darad?]. Though he made grand preparations yet he artfully made his progress slow, and the king of Darad, inactive through indolence, overlooked him. The king of the world [Kashmīra] sent Udaya, lord of Dvāra, with men. He brought riches to the peaceful and tumults to the turbulent.

Udaya who worked hard, until he fainted, in collecting an army, heard that in the town of Shaṅkaravarmmā, Loṭhana had joined Alaṅkārachakra, and he also heard that Vigraharāja, son of king Sussala, and Bhoja, son of Sulhaṇa, had come with Loṭhana. Then when their insurrection had gained strength, Udaya hurriedly marched in one day over the road which is traversed in many days. The Ḍāmara (Alaṅkārachakra), unable to take possession of Kanthā with his own party, was at a loss, and on being checked in his movements by Udaya's attack, he fled and took shelter in the fort of Shirahshila, situated on the banks of the Sindhu, where the Madhumatī also flowed with its pearl like beauty. The lord of Dvāra (Udaya) wandered over an extensive country, but could not ascertain whether the Ḍāmara had hid himself in the dense forest or within the fort. When he ascended the fort, it appeared as if the king's

power could not be overthrown even by chance. When the party was attempting to ascend, the marauders (Ḍāmaras) in the fort, where tumult prevailed, were scattered by the sword. The clever conspirators Trillaka and others whose disaffection was still undisclosed, defeated Loṭhana. He who had burnt towns and villages before now fled, baffling pursuit; and though he fell into danger at every step, he was protected by his party. Fie! that he wandered in the circle of Fate and was sometimes visible and sometimes invisible like the comet, son of Brahmā, which rises at the time of the destruction of the creation!

When, in course of time, the ministers established peace, the people thought that the whole land of Māḍava was lost. Unable to find any remedy when the enemy gained strength, the king, as advised, sent Dhanya [to quell the commotion.] The people said that when the work devolved on Dhanya's shoulders, the lord of Dvāra would feel humiliation or become indifferent or would act against the king. The people also said that Bhikṣhu and Mallārjjuna had been as one, but that these three [the lord of Dvāra, Dhanya and the king] would be unable to effect the destruction of the united enemy. But the lord of Dvāra did not behave like Hevāka, and even at the sacrifice of his reputation, he desired the fulfilment of the king's work, and made grand preparations. Such a man who, even when left by himself, never behaved foolishly in

the work of his master, and who when that master was under the influence of many, did not, through anger, become indifferent [to the interest of the king]; such a minister who did not behave like Hevāka but wished the completion of that which was to be accomplished, can be ḥad only by a very virtuous king. Dhanya too, when Pañchachandra died, raised his younger brother Ṣhaṣhṭhachandra on the king's seat, [at Maḍava ?], and set about to begin his work. Divāhuka and other principal dependants of the king and the outsiders also followed Dhanya with bards and singers.

When Dhanya and his party took shelter of Tilagrāma on the banks of the Koṭisindhu, the lord of Dvāra who was in the town went out leaving the road behind. He also left behind Hevāka, the cause of the war, though unfit for battle, and reduced the enemy, and behaved with patience and gravity.

By the help of many architects with their building instruments, Dhanya caused rows of temples to be built on the banks of the Madhumatī; and the temples emulated [the beauty of a] town. This able master dispelled darkness from among the groups of trees, built houses in the woodlands and furnished the camp with all enjoyable things. The country where winter was intolerable for excessive snow, fortunately became adorned by the sun and was fit for the enjoyment of the king. The king wished to conquer foreign countries, but though at times his orders were obeyed,

yet the civil war in his own country had raised a number of difficulties such as were never seen before.

Being in a foreign land for a long time, the soldiers' spirit was cast down, and they began to desert. But the king was angry with those who deserted, satisfied with money those who stayed and thus established the stability of the army. Three or four months thus passed away, and though the army worked hard during this time, they could not seize those within the fort. They were no way humiliated, and they could not be reduced even by the stoppage of the entry of grain [within the fort]. At the end of the winter, the Ḍāmaras who were desirous of displaying their wealth and whose exultation began to increase remained fixed as a rock. The peasants left their cultivation, the twice-born left their study of the Vedas and arrayed themselves in hot haste and took up arms on all sides of the village. The people of Darad waited for the termination of the fall of snow and wished for victory over the king who was on the way, with the help of the well armed cavalry. Both the people and the king's soldiers trembled, fearing the fall of snow, like the cotton of Death's bed. The king had foolishly commenced the war without examining the strength of the enemy; and victory was doubtful. The skilful have one good means to deceive the enemy, *viz*, by pretending to fear the power of the enemy; but the foolish enemy could not judge of their preparations. Though well

armed with weapons long in use, yet blind with anxiety, he helped his enemy's success. If the elephant through vain and imaginary ideas is afraid of the lotus, fearing to be stung by the black bees, or to be attacked by the leaves or to be tied up by the fibres, then he will not venture against such enemies, nor uproot the lotus. When Loṭhana and others, after escaping with difficulty from Karṇāṭa, joined Alaṅkārachakra, the first idea which occurred was that the king would be conquered. It was in vain that with his party he [Alaṅkārachakra] garrisoned Kantha, for the lord of Dvāra who came rapidly made a vigorous attack on it. Unable to oppose the enemy, he fled from the fort and on the next day he [Alaṅkārachakra] followed the followers of the king. The hill fortress situated on the water where the stream was narrow and having an extensive construction behind, appeared to them like a heron anxious to catch fish. But seeing the fort without strength, like an elephant stable without elephants, they despaired of overcoming the enemies, [who had fled,] and bore apprehension in their hearts.

The enemies were afterwards surrounded on one side by the arrows discharged by their foes, on another side they were protected by water, and on the third side, by rocks. When thus besieged they believed that the Ḍāmara [Alaṅkārachakra] was contriving for his own safety, and they could not form any determination to fight. At Tilagrāma where the attack was

severe, these outcaste (Ḍāmara) soldiers were unable to find any remedy, and became very anxious. Loṭhana, the balance of whose judgment was considerably shaken, believed that the Ḍāmara could defend him no longer, and he openly accused him. Bhoja said that disaffection must arise among them and he arrested his father's brother [Loṭhana] although with reluctance, and although he still daily served him, to save appearances. Kunṭhashāvya, in order to soothe Loṭhana, acknowledged his prudence in his presence, and came to some agreement with him. When the uncle wished to depart, [Bhoja] told him that the king would kill him, and would not let him escape. although others might go, and he wept. [Then said Loṭhana] "We are all closely blockaded; we do not expect the enemies to attack us in the rear. Through some reason, they have now become inactive, but they will succeed in what they propose to do; so bring without delay other Lavanyas or the men of Darad, but let me go from this place." "I will release you" [said Bhoja] "from the arrest, as it is fit to do." The Ḍāmara [Alaṅkārachakra] now under the protection of Bhoja seemed to express his willingness to comply with his desire and said.—"I will release you either today or tomorrow at night." But he was in possession of power, he was relentless, and deceived the [prisoner] every moment.

Their enemies were at a great distance and did not stop the roads as they should have done, so they (the

besieged) brought jewels from the villages outside and from their sale proceeds they passed the day. They informed the king that evil consequences might ensue, and Dhanyodaya advised the king to make peace. But for many reasons, the king was of opinion that peace should not be concluded with them and he ordered that the houses within the fort (koṭṭa) should be surrounded. He also warned them that when the bribed Ḍāmaras would forsake them in their posts, their relatives who had obtained a good name would also deceive them. "We are engaged in hard work and our negligence would be culpable, and we shall surely be reproached by men for not accomplishing the task. If king Harṣha who was about to reach the Dugdhapravāha (a river?) had not for seven days given up all efforts, then who would have had occasion to grieve on listening to his history. All men receive their due by their own good or bad work, and if even our acts remain unfinished in this world even then the sovereignty of the three worlds may come to us unsought. Possessed of legs and wings, the winged ants neither rove on the earth nor in the sky, but like the lame and the blind go into the fire. How can wealth affect the course of life? The cripple Aruṇa is born to guide the sun even with his thousand legs (rays), and even if Aurṇa had a pair of legs what more would he have done? Shake off indifference therefore, and surround the whole fort well, and here let our lives and theirs be lost. The wind by constant

motion becomes hot, as if united with fire, and the water by incessant friction waste even the Kula Mountains. In this world unexpected prosperity is begotten every moment by firm perseverance."

When Dhanya and others heard the stern orders of the king, they left the river banks and speedily ascended the high road of the fort. The inmates of the fortress discharged their arrows and looked with feelings of astonishment as to how the assailants would fight and how they would stand on the ground. Though Dhanya was below, he defeated those above in a hard fight, and by constructing houses made the place appear like a town. Owing to incessant combats innumerable soldiers fell every moment on both sides. On the next day, the son of Garga arrived after having visited [goddess] Sāradā and he added to [the slaughter] by bringing in the warrior citizens of Saṃkrandana. Alaṅkāra who was in possession of the outer palace was invincible in human fight, and killed the enemies in various ways. How can they who roam over the plains rival those who roam over mountains? But even then, the machineries of war of the army which accomplished things beyond thought should be taken into consideration. The inmates of the fort were few, those of the camp were many, hence the former, though besieged, were easily destroyed. Harassed in two or three battles, they closed the doors of the castle gates, as if the fortress shut its eyes out of

fear. Finding that Dhanya and others sought such opportunities as disagreement among the guards, division among the inmates, those in the fort became mistrustful. In order to keep off sleep, they called one another aloud at night and did not sleep, but they slept during the day when the fort became silent. At night these soldiers were afraid of the sound of trumpet sounded at every prahara, as the sparrows in their cells are, of the sound of the thunder. The king's soldiers by means of boats plying day and night prevented water from being taken within the fort, and alarmed their enemies in every way. Their water being out off, they endured the sufferings of thirst; and checked in their movements, their food was reduced, and they became exhausted. The enemies of the king were famished, and any thing that could be eaten, any foul food that could be got by chance, was considered as worthy of sovereigns. Emulation was cast aside, and these hungry people showed every day a greater hankering after food even than those who live on the king's substance.

Bhoja who said that there were many useless things done in the arrangement of troops, kept himself aloof in the middle tower within the fort. His enemies thought that as one was old and the other was the son of a prostitute they were both unworthy, and believed that it was but natural that there should be a division in the kingdom. They believed there would be no disagreement in the camp if [Bhoja] went away. Thus

the enemies [of Bhoja] made an excuse to drive him out of the fort, in anger.

The unchaste wife of Alaṅkārachakra wished for his death. She was deeply enamoured of Ṣhaṣhṭhachandra who was the delight of her eye. She disclosed counsel public and private. But the son of Salhaṇa who enquired after every thing daily heard of her ways. Fearing that a dissention would be caused, he informed [her husband] of her conduct and asked permission to go away. But Alaṅkārachakra's intellect was covered with the darkness of love. Though he was of a forgiving nature, though he knew how to wait for opportunities, and was happy in the continuance of friendship, yet he was as angry as the serpent was on the offending Bodhisattva. But affectionate as he was, he forgot in his heart, the resentment towards his beloved who might have caused his death, as a grasshopper is unmindful of danger while seated on the elephant's back.

Bhoja walked through the camp of the sleeping enemies, and had almost passed them when the son of Alaṅkāra, either with a view to rebel or losing his courage out of fear, followed him and brought him back again before his father who was in the fort. Alaṅkāra reprimanded his son and ordered Bhoja to go away the next night. Alaṅkāra hid Bhoja during the day and told all men that Bhoja had gone away. Dhanya and others were informed that one had already issued out of the fort and the other two would go out the next day,

but not knowing who were fleeing, they kept themselves awake at night. He who was to escape at night saw from the pavilion of the fort, that the fire was burning on all sides of the camp and all were awake. The fire lighted up the fort in such a way that an ant issuing out of it by the road leading from it might not pass unobserved by the watchful enemies. By the flickering light of the fire, the houses of the sentinals seemed to quiver, as if they forbade the son of Salhaṇa to venture on his enterprise by the shaking of their heads. The Ḍāmara was unable to proceed fast during the first portion of the night. He descended into a hollow beneath, by holding to a rope. The lord of the Ḍāmaras named Kṣhemarāja joined him, and they rested on an altar-like stone within the hollow. They ascended the stone which was just sufficient for them to sit upon, and afraid of falling down, the two persons spent five nights without sleep. They lived upon balls of powdered oats which they had in their hands, and they eased themselves as birds do from their nests. They spoke not, and though they wondered at seeing from behind the prosperity in the enemy's camp, they did not express their feeling. The heat from the fire of king Jayasiṃha's power made them forget the great cold [to which they were exposed], and it was beneficial to them. On the sixth day their food was exhausted, and the clouds began to pour snows, like salt on a wound. Their hands and legs were benumbed with cold, as if

they slept on listening to the befitting music of the harp. They thought that, overpowered with hunger and cold, they would surely fall in the enemy's camp that day, like two birds tied to a string. "Whom shall we call?" they said to themselves, "who knows us? who will deliver us, as the chief elephant delivers the young elephants when they sink in the mire." The Ḍāmara [Alaṅkārachakra] at night called out to them who were in peril, and by means of a rope took them up and placed them in a vacant house. There they warmed themselves by the straw-fire and relieved themselves of the cold; and they forgot their woes in sleep which they had after a long time. But a greater danger than this befell the crooked-eyed and amiable Loṭhana and Vigraha who did not even hear the voices of men. They ate barley and husk powdered together and cakes, and their persons and clothes were unclean and discolored.

Dhanya who, like Alaṅkārachakra, lived on scant food, drew Hola and Yashaskara to his party by giving them food. Then the Ḍāmara [Alaṅkārachakra], oppressed with hunger and afraid of disunion among his servants, promised, through his messengers, to sell the enemy of the king. Owing to the insurmountable difficulties, his strength departed and his heart was contaminated with vice and discarded the fear of sin and evil reputation. He planned his own safety by giving up the remnant of the king's enemies, and for regaining a good reputation, he sought the help of worthless objects like grass and

weeds. On the advice of his servant named Udayana, he hid and protected Bhoja, son of Salhaṇa, and hurriedly gave up the other two. He thought that it would not be right if the king were to punish them without consulting him, and he believed that the acts which he had done without meeting any opposition were right.

Dhanya and others who were bent on effecting peace did not know of the danger in which Alaṅkārachakra was for want of food, and the plan which he had adopted. They were anxious to depart from the place on some pretence, and it was all the better for them to get the promise [from Alaṅkārachakra] about giving up his kinsmen. With a view to give what was to be given up, to remove the army and to fulfil other promises, Dhanya made Kalyāna, his brother's son, his representative. He now totally closed operations conciliated the enemies by humouring their anger, and thus brought them over to his side. But he dealt insincerely with them as his policy required. Active in the discharge of duty, he accomplished all that was necessary and took off the edge of the enemy's resentment. The grief caused by long absence from home demoralized the king's servants and they relaxed their anger. Truly ministers are rare who can boast of completing and bringing into order affairs which are in confusion. The soldiers who were anxious to return home, when they learnt that peace was established, disregarded the rewards of their masters and

departed within a short time. When the Lavanya [Alaṅkārachakra] obtained the food which was sold to him, he slackened his action.

The soldiers under Dhanya were few and it was therefore with difficulty that they could save their lives. The besiegers looked with eagerness towards the road leading to the fort where they wished and expected to arrive; Alaṅkārachakra, however, did not permit them to come up that day but harassed them. At night when the chakravāka lamented, the soldiers saw nothing else but the chance of losing their lives, and it was with difficulty that they passed the night. They said that it was owing to foolishness that the siege commenced with care was raised, and the ministers pretending to grieve for what was destroyed ridiculed the plans of their master who was favorably inclined towards them, and they wished to bring him to grief, though he disregarded the words of his ministers, out of respect towards them. "Or is it," they continued, "that the other ministers not seeing how the work would end, would bring disgrace on us by th circumstances of today's march? Having consulted the evil-wishers of the king, the villain [Dhanya] has thus acted deceitfully and now his purpose being fulfilled, he is surely laughing at us." Thus they made many conjectures. At last the night, during which many soldiers died, came to an end, and the day dawned. In the morning Alaṅkāra who was in the palace and was anxious to do some courageous deed ascended the fort,

and by his tactics and menaces he subdued the Dāmara. He had brooked the delay of Loṭhana's departure so long but this day he was relentless towards Loṭhana, and he plainly told him to go. Some persons made a proposal which might have removed the grief and disgrace of this proud man. [They said] that "the time was such as blinded the eyes of the crowd but gave light to those of the good Kṣhetriyas. The blade of the sword, dark as the cloud, is connected with the Apsarās, and has a wonderful and clear affinity with the fiery sun. Although we may not subdue the king, yet if we die in the field of battle, we attain the sphere of the sun, or the bosom of the lovely Apsarā full of love. In a death like this we do not feel the pain which is felt in the bed made rough by constant rolling, nor the acute pain felt at the departure of life from the joints, nor is the heart alarmed at the loud lamentations of weeping friends. But that death (in battle) is as pleasant as the desire for a beautiful woman. Your father went to heaven by the way covered with the forests of sword blades, your two brothers after having roamed in the wood of daggers found the good path [to heaven]. So do thou too walk in the way trodden by your ancestors, and by high deeds enter the sphere of the sun in the sky, and in this world remain endeared in the hearts of spirited men. Fate brought to you, several times, the kingdom which you have lost through weakness, and in that kingdom you behaved like a boy at an age when

you should have acquired composure. Fate at present has given you an expiation of your deeds, you have become dumb in the discharge of your duty, but you should not, miss the expiation as you have missed the kingdom. Bhikṣhāchara lost the kingdom after he had obtained it. He then spent his time in eating the remains of other's meals—a conduct which was unworthy of a king, and by remaining in the country, he was the cause of the death of many persons. Yet that powerful man did something eminent which received its perfection after his body had perished, and for which he stands superior to all." Though thus excited, the powerless man did not take courage. Men without spirit and moist wood do not burn even when in contact with fire. But he felt fear and anxiety, and like a child, when soothed after being roused from sleep, he was inclined to weep pouting his lower lip. The dependants of the king who came to take him, saw him given up by the Ḍāmara (Alaṅkāra) in that condition, and out of pity, they came before him to pacify him. "Be not cast down." They said. "In the king's heart illuminated by the advent of kindness, as by the rising of the moon, foul passions which darken the heart by their gloom do not grow uncontrolled. He is the sea of the nectar of gentility; in firmness he is like the mountain of the gods, and in removing the troubles and griefs of others, he is like the sandal tree. Like the Ganges in autumn is his holy and pure person, at the sight of which your

anxious heart will be relieved. Like his stainless ancestors, he respects the high characters. He is disliked by the light hearted. He will keep you at a distance from harm. He shows mercy to enemies who do him harm, if they are immersed in danger; and he considers them as benefactors for testing his power of forgiveness." When they had thus said, Loṭhana, with his long and quivering beard, issued, delighted, from the house, like an old hairy ox from a cowpen.

Dhạnya humbled himself out of shame when he saw Loṭhana riding in a carriage, and without ornaments and with clothes and weapons dirty and worn out. His eyes were large and motionless, his moustache and beard thick and rough and he had taken with him an image of a god. Loṭhana was seen like an owl fled from his cavern home. As the party moved on and lighted fire in the camp, the light brightened the hill which looked as if it were a touch-stone to test the power of the king. When the encampment broke up, all of a sudden the sky poured snow, and thus removed all doubt about the divinity of the king. Fearing that the snow fall would be heavy and that men falling under it would die in a moment, the soldiers went within caverns and looked as if besmeared with red powder. Thus in the year 19, on the tenth lunar day, bright moon, of Phâlguna, aged fifty-nine was Loṭhana captured once more.

The disinterested king ascended a high building in order to honor the army returning after a long residence

in a foreign country; and with befitting gifts, honors, and kind conversation and inspection he pleased the soldiers and took leave of them. He then looked on Dhanya and others who had bent themselves down. There was Lothana, his hands over his shoulders, his face covered with the ends of the garments given to him by the soldiers, without nose, and with the rough white beard on his cheek entering the ends of his ears which were without ornaments; his weakness and troubles were apparent. The citizens were talking with a loud or in low voice, and at times, Loṭhana looked on them through the corner of his eyes, the eye-balls of which were feeble and moist. Afflicted with agitation, wretchedness, apprehension, weariness, hunger and distress, and with limbs shaking for want of sleep, he was like a cow tormented with cold. He felt as if the world was swinging, the hills thrown down on every side and the sky fallen down. His lips were parched and dried. "I who have come near the palace am unable to stay before the king to whom I have done all kinds of injury. Or am I covered with darkness or weakened by rheumatism." While he thought thus, his legs failed him at every step. He was surrounded by many men, so that glimpses only of him were seen, and the guards pointed him out to the spectators. In such a state the king saw Loṭhana in the court-yard. By the king's order which was communicated by the movement of his brow, Loṭhana entered the court on which the eyes

of the spectators feasted. Then with his eyes the king indicated the place where he was to wait. Loṭhana knelt on the ground and with his head touched the lotus feet of the king. The great king with his lotus hands held Loṭhana's forehead, bent down and humbled out of respect, and raised his head. The touch of the hands adorned with jewels and herbs removed all grief from Loṭhana's heart, and the king's person, cool as the sandal, relieved him of his misery; and Loṭhana soon felt confidence in the holy authority of the merciful king. "Fear not, you will prosper" would have been the words of pride; to say that "your goodness is marred by your angry disposition" would have been an allusion to former enmity; "you are our friend" would at that moment have been irony; "you have suffered pain" would have indicated his own power and authority. Thus thought the king, and when he saw Loṭhana, he spoke no word to console him. Loṭhana bent down his head to touch the king's feet, in order to crave assurance of safety, the king touched the hairs on Loṭhana's head with the feet of the image of a god. "I am not worthy of respect" said the uncle (Loṭhana), but the king compelled him to take the betel which the king had in his hand. To the humble lord of Dvāra he said smiling that he had undergone fatigue, and he touched the principal personages, Dhanya and Ṣhaṣhṭha with his left hand. When Loṭhana saw the king endowed with skill, mercy,

gravity, humility and other qualifications, and saw him surrounded with petty kings, he thought very poorly of himself. Dhanya who out of bashfulness had remained with his face bent down was consoled and sent home, with kind words, his face beaming and his hands clasped together. But the composure of the king's face, who acted in observance of good manners was the same whether engaged in active exertion or in reaping fruits. The sea is not heated by the boiling of the sub-marine fire, nor does it cool at the access of the waters from the Himālaya. The dignity of those minds which always remain the same in grief as in pleasure is profound. The king effaced the shame of those two whose lives had become void of manliness, by steady and sincere benefits, cheerfully conferred, such as is due to kinsmen. But while the king, like a kind relative, fed them, he feared them also like the teeth of serpents because he had deprived them of the kingdom.

The king intended to sub due [Salhaṇa] together with the remnant of the enemies who afraid of the difficulties of living in a foreign country, had cooled down their anger and relaxed their exertions. Salhaṇa therefore remained sleepless, living in a vacant house, and when he came out of his hole, he found no persons waiting for him from his uncle Vigraha. The king saw Alaṅkāra come to the Ḍāmara in his house and thought it probable that the rebels would rise from behind. The way leading to the capital was spread out with camps, but owing to

distance, the extent of the encampment was not visible. The uncle (Loṭhana) rode in a vehicle between the vehicles of Dhanya and Ṣhaṣhṭha, but owing to the great distance he could not be distinguished. The king wondered what the cause of the approach of the army could be, and who the third person besides Dhanya and Ṣhaṣhṭha was, riding on a vehicle and following them. Then from behind the army came a Ḍāmara, happy in appearance. He established peace between Loṭhana and Vigraha, whereupon they both went to the capital.

That day discord was removed from among the multitude, and fear which had risen high was for a short time driven away by the love of kinsmen. When the army had departed, swarms of birds made sounds on the river bank vacated by the army, and he [Alaṅkāra ?] fancied that the river wept for the departure of the two forces. In the noise of the water-fall heard at times, he feared the return of the royal army to take him away. Then at noon the clouds covered the earth with darkness displaying the beauty of midnight. From that time till the month of Vaishākha clouds prevented the performance of the festivity of snow on the earth. The villain [Alaṅkāra ?] accused himself saying that he was faithless, irreligious and shameless and sat down before Bhoja. The son of Salhaṇa, however, was not grieved ; he opportunely checked his anger and even consoled him and said, that he did not blame him in that matter.

He further said, "you have acted thus in order to save the sons, kinsmen and others who were in danger and who sought your help, and you deserve no censure therefore from any one. If you wish to rebel, it would be a cruelty to me. According to the exigencies of the time be your conduct towards me as of a stranger. We two are not the objects of the king's wrath as those born in the dynasty of king Harṣha; but we who have submitted to the king's administration should be kept under check. You who are wise have protected your own party, retrieved your reputation, prevented the opposition of those two men, and hindered the king from going in his own way." When Bhoja had said thus, the villain [Alaṅkārachakra] freed himself from the weight of shame, and after having repeatedly praised Bhoja, said, "you are my witness in all things." "At present for a moment send me away," said Bhoja, but he replied that he would send him after the termination of the fall of snow, and he went away. Bhoja was told by some that the villain would show his anger towards him, so Bhoja did not eat nor drink in that place. But after the termination of the snow, fall, the villain told him that he would surely send him away that day or on the day following, but still he did not let him go for two months. Bhoja believed that the king knew that he was there, and would, at the termination of the cold, behead him, and consequently he hurried to depart. The villain evaded the pretext

which Bhoja made for his departure which was delayed and Bhoja was convicted of guilt.

Rājavadana was born of Ojas, a leader in the army and in the womb of a chaste woman. This Ojas beamed with prowess, and during the civil war, adorned Sussala's army which was, as it were, a test stone of heroism for the principal warriors. Rājavadana was, during his childhood, called the long-blanket-clad. Owing to the faithfulness of his father, he was retained by the king in his service, and the possession of the estates of Ebenaka &c. was gradually given to him. But Nāga, born in the hermitage of Khūya, turned the king against Rājavadana, whereupon the latter, with a view to fight, held him in subjection. All feared that being a servant, he would not act cruelly towards the king, and not being a Lavanya, would not stand against the sovereign.

Then Alaṅkāra who had reached Draṅga and had taken possession of the estates was sent by the king with money, to subdue Bhoja. Bhoja said to the Ḍāmara [Alaṅkāra], "I am ready to go to you, but should you depart leaving me, I will kill myself." The other promised to see him on the next morning. When thus promised, [Bhoja] without saying any thing to any body left Koṭṭa at the fourth watch of night. And when he [Alaṅkārachakra] enquired after him who, though it then rained, was looking after the road, he heard that [Bhoja] had gone out of the fort at the latter end

of the night. The irrepressible Bhoja, with a limited number of followers, journied on by day and went to the shrine of the goddess Shāradā. But out of pity and feeling ashamed to appear before the females of his kinsmen, without the two kinsmen who accompanied him, he, though advanced in years, like a young man, five times tried [to leave the place]. He believed that he would be blamed by men, and felt no desire to go to Durāṅḍa. He went by the road along the banks of the Madhumatī with the intention to fight with the help of the people of Darad. He spent five or six days in the way, and the days were very dreadful. Sometimes he passed over rough and broken stones, sometimes the clouds hid the light and darkened all sides, spreading themselves like the net of death. At times masses of snow, like elephants, slided down making the day dreadful. At times the rush of the water fall, like arrows, pierced his body. Sometimes the wind, hurtful to the body, penetrated him into the skin. And at times his eyes, distressed by the sun, were fixed on the moon. The days became fearful on account of the fall of snow. He then descended down a plain not quite level but extended. The descent was difficult, and though he walked down, yet he frequently thought as if he was ascending. At last he reached a village in the skirts of Darad.

His own things which was privately given to him were lost, nor did he receive much respect on the way. But the lord of the fort of Dugdhadhāṭṭa now bowed

to him and paid him respects. When Bhoja's messengers announced to Viḍḍasiṃha, who was at a distance, of Bhoja's arrival, Viḍḍasiṃha sent him umbrella and music and royal insignia befitting a king. In that kingdom, the lord of the fort (koṭṭa) raised him to prosperity, but prevented the appropriation of the treasures belonging to the Rājavījī. Rājavadana's son went over to the side of Bhoja who was behaving like a king, and brought him to a place befitting a sovereign. But the father (Rājavadana) who was a determined enemy sent his son who was worthy to be tied with a string, to the king. The father did not trust his son with any important work, and he acted as he should have acted. After giving him notice he sent him to the king without either acknowledging or disclaiming his acts. Rājavadana informed his son, through messengers, that he would soon come to know whether he (Rājavadana) was in the confidence of the king or his determined enemy.

The great Nāga attained such fame that his own countrymen did not feel ashamed to serve him. He was adorned with the virtues of charity, forgiveness, activity and want of avarice, and he shone as one who always enjoyed riches, and he was accessible to men. The composure of Pṛithvīhara and others who had means of protection at their command was not to be wondered at, but the great grandeur of this man who had none to help him was praiseworthy. He filled the ranks of his army with thieves, dwellers of forests,

criers, &c. He overran several villages and then stopped. He protected Bhoja and others. The Ḍāmaras became disorderly either through the advice of ministers who on account of mutual disagreement had become jealous of one another, or for the love of plunder.

The desire of the people for rebelling which destroyed the affairs of the state and which was manifested at the time of arresting Loṭhana now assumed a hundred branches. Trillaka and Jayarāja, though favored by the king, could by no kind treatment be pursuaded from attempting to reduce the kingdom. As the hole is to the lice, the wasting disease to other diseases, the nether world to infernal beings, the sea to the aquatic animals, so was the hypocrite Trillaka, the shelter of all the villains. He securely imprisoned the lord of Devasara and commenced rebellion. The Brāhmaṇas wished his fall and the deliverance of the world; they therefore commenced religious fast for the king at Vijayeshvara. The king anticipated the untimely destruction of the villains, but the Brāhmaṇas did not act according to his request. Then out of charity, the king consented to go to their assembly. But when he armed himself to start, Jayarāja, that chief among the wicked, died of carbuncle. The fortunate king who [beheld] on one hand the destruction of the villains, came to Maḍavarājya to please the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas, whose action was disapproved by the minister Alaṅkāra and who were vexed at his craftiness, caused him to be removed from

the side of the king. Alaṅkāra who had always tried to keep the wicked villains under control appeared to the jealous Brāhmaṇas as the encourager of their enemies. The king, by making a promise to root out Trillaka, after he had crushed the civil war, prevented the Brāhmaṇas from performing their religious fast. Trillaka, struck with fear by several disagreeable acts, harassed the king, as an undetected disease harasses a man with various complications.

Yashorāja, the younger brother of Jayarāja, was employed by the king. He was attacked by his nephew (brother's son) named Rājaka. Sañjapāla went to relieve Devasarasa where the proud enemies were; but as the number of his soldiers was small, he was doubtful of victory. He then learnt the account of Rilhaṇa who was favored with victory at a terrible fight. When like Mandāra, Rilhaṇa churned the enemies who were like a mass of water, the sea like Sañjapāla remained tranquil and acquired some advantage from the enemies. When Rājaka was subdued, Yashorāja, like a boy in a lonely place, was unable to stay without a protector. Trillaka waited the suppression of the civil war by the king, and spent time in various devices which were never completed. He privately disbanded the men who were the thorns of the state, and in due time, he spread out, like a porcupine, the spikes on all sides. Then Koshṭaka's younger brothers, Pāṃktīhari and Chatushka, whom the king had impri-

soned, fled from the jail. The well known son-in-law of [Chatuṣhka] protected him in his own place and caused innumerable Ḍāmaras to join him and made him enter Samāla. The villains who had remained hidden made their appearance when they heard of him, as do the small fish in a tank when they hear the cry of the fish-hawk. Then Ṣhaṣhṭhachandra, son of Garga, opposed the proud Rājavadana, as the mountains by the sea shore opposed the convulsed sea at the time of the deluge. Both parties sometimes swelled, sometimes diminished, like the cold clay covered banks of the Himālaya during summer.

Jayachandra and Shrīchandra, younger brothers of Ṣhaṣhṭha, used to get salaries from the king's palace. They feared that evil would come to the king from their respected elder brother. But knowing that the war had not terminated, and ambitious to do the duties of leaders, they fled from the camp and went to Rājavadana. The king's two brothers-in-law (wife's brothers) also commenced hostility. Rājavadana who wished to obtain the wealth of past kings caused Bhuteshvara to be plundered by the Khāshakas who were travelling the hill road in great numbers. The whole kingdom, in which homesteads were attacked by robbers and the powerful killed the weak, was distressed and it appeared as if it was without a king. The king then ordered Udaya, lord of Kampana and Rilhaṇa to fight with Chatuṣhka, and with a composed mind, he entered the capital. As some

severe, incurable illness is checked by medicine, so Pāṃktīhari was checked by the two armies, but could not be destroyed. Rilhaṇa either waited for a suitable opportunity or leaned to the evil council of his own party, his prowess failed at this time.

But Viḍḍasiṃha learnt the accounts about Bhoja and sent many messengers to Uttarapatha in order to bring the [mlechchha] kings. There the plains stretch from the Himālaya mountains, and the breeze from the peaks is tempered by heat of the desert and favor the secret loves of Yakṣha wives. The caves of mountains resound with the songs of men from cities, and cool breezes make the land of Uttarakuru delightful; and the kings of the Mlechchhas wander about, covering all sides with their cavalry. Thence they came to the camp of the lord of Darad.* The kings and their feudatory chiefs from various quarters came to Bhoja. He was delighted to see them coming down from the mountains, like monkies, though he could not understand their words; and he contracted their friendship without understanding their speech.

Sent by Rājavadaṇa, Jayachandra and others, the Kīras and the Kāshmīrians also arrived by the side of the Rājavījī. The son of Salhaṇa who was possessed of immense riches, satisfied Balahara and other soldiers who were far

* It is worthy of note that this is the first instance on record when the people of Káshmíra sought the aid of the Mahomedans from the plains of India.

or near, with gold. Rājavadana, the irrepressible conspirator, fearlessly joined Bhoja because he was greatly injured. They two became friends with each other, and their previous distrust was soon forgotten. Bhoja did not wish to begin hostility without the lord of Darad; but Rājavadana, out of pride, came to help him with a few soldiers and desired to engage in battle at once. "If our enemies in the camp give vent to their pride, it will be checked now, though we have borne it before, and a defeat will destroy their union. Therefore I wish for a battle with the whole of our strength, and after one day my victory or defeat will be known." Thus said Bhoja, but Rājavadana smiled in pride, disregarded the soldiers of Darad and led on the advancing army. After the followers of the Rājavījī had crossed over the Saṅkaṭā, he heard that the lord of Darad had arrived in his neighbourhood. With a view to join him, he returned to Koṭṭa. Balahara caused his soldiers to enter the village of Mātṛigrāma.

The son of Garga who was naturally of an equable disposition saw the horses on all sides wandering like deer against the wind, but he did not lose his composure. The Ḍāmaras who rode black horses and his own soldiers who leagued with the enemies, went to create a mutiny among the troops. Thus encompassed by danger and requested by his friends to leave the place, the son of Garga only replied with a sad face that he was unable to see his king. Suryyavarmmā

was not born in the Lunar family, for he did not go to confer benefit on those born in the family of Malla.*

After this, the king and Viḍḍasiṃha treated Bhoja who was attended by his soldiers with courtesy, and allowed him to win a victory. Leaving Viḍḍasiṃha and others in the rear, Bhoja led the army in which the Mlechchhas predominated. Followed by the army which disturbed the world, the son of Salhaṇa thought that he had already conquered the whole earth. With this powerful and proud force consisting of cavalry and Mlechchha kings, he encamped at a place called Samudradhāra. With this powerful and invincible force the beaming Rājavadana thought that Ṣhaṣhṭhachandra was doomed to death within a short time.

After this, the clouds of the rainy season accompanied by lightnings flooded the country, and land and water assumed one uniform appearance. Such became the state of the world. The earth was full of water, like a drinking cup with wine. The trees were drowned and their tops which were slightly visible appeared like blue lotuses. The king knew the danger to which Ṣhaṣhṭha was exposed, and with the remainder of the army sent Udaya, lord of Dvāra, and Dhanya. The way of their army was obstructed, but they pursued their road even as Yudhiṣhṭhira and Bhīma did after Arjjuna's death. In both instances the clouds hung down from

* The dynasty to which Siṃhadeva belonged.

the sky, and the world was full of water and between them, the flashes of lightning were seen and the roar of thunder was heard. It seemed as if both the sky and the earth were stitched with lightnings. At this time the king, attended by a handsome retinue, remained without a division in his camp.

The Rājavījī disregarded Rājavadana, and Trillaka informed the men of Darad by messengers, that in the first instance neither force nor opposition should be employed in the affair. He strengthened Pāṃktīhari who was in his hands, and wished to win over one of the forces [under Rājavījī or Rājavadana]. The king saw Balahara's force like a picture not painted on a wall [*i. e.* unsubstantial] and exposed to various dangers from the enemies. The king divided his innumerable force. Trillaka, whose evil intention was known, and who was aware of the king's prowess and also knew that he was strengthening his weak points, behaved like a fattened porcupine. He openly deserted the haughty enemy [Chatuṣhka?] whom he had once before kept hidden in his own person.

In the darkness caused by the gathering of clouds and covered with a load of dust raised by high wind, Loṭhaka, son of Pṛithvīhara, suddenly arrived at Shūrapura, with many Ḍāmaras, and was re-enforced by [Trillaka.] Loṭhaka had learnt from informants of the efforts made by the two sections of his party. He had on various occasions and under great difficulties des-

troyed men of royal blood. He was the cause of tumultuous risings and was the encourager of evil things. He arrived there after a long time, and changes were perceptible in him, as in the full banks of the river in the rainy season when the embankment is broken. At the advent of the rains, his troops appeared, all collected together, like the world as it issued from the navel of Vishṇu when he slept contented at the time of the deluge. Piñjadeva, lord of Draṅga, attended by a handful of warriors, such as were not sufficient even to count the soldiers of Lothaka, sent the latter in the direction of death or in the river. A multitude of blazing pyres were reflected in the river, and it seemed, as if the last rites of those who were drowned were being performed. Thus one day, Lothaka, forgetful of death, and taking with him his faithful men, fought an arduous battle; and on the next day, he was beaten back with a broken force. He had thought that it would be easy to take within two or three days that lonely town in which he had collected an army from all sides.

The desire of Trillaka to attack Padmapura abated out of fear of Yashorāja and of the lord of Kampana who were at his back. During the civil war in Sussala's time, no such calamity happened to Sussala as befel his son. As one disregards the disease of the leg and attends to the inflammation of the throat, so the king disregarded Chatushka and sent Rilhana to destroy Trillaka. When Rilhaṇa departed with this object, he

was followed by the people of Shamāla, as Aryyuna was followed by determined warriors when he went to kill the king of Prāgyotiṣha. He turned round, faced them bravely, killed them and ran about, as does an elephant, stung by bees on his back when he goes towards a tank. Weary of battle, he spent the night at Rāmasha where he was disturbed by the cries of the enemy's troops fallen into the roaring canal. In the morning [Rilhaṇa] entered Kalyāṇapura, but [Trillaka] arrived there before him and filled all directions with troops and opposed him. He destroyed the spies and the infantry who were marching, as soon as he saw them, as a huge serpent devours the goats before it. When he arrived like a strong wind, the infantry of Rilhaṇa deserted him, as the leaves desert the tree in the dewy season. Rilhaṇa saw the wicked men disregarding him and fleeing, and they were not ashamed to do so. Who can perform his duty properly if he takes excessive care of his own person? When his trusty men came to his side and begged him to flee, he remembered the devotion due to his master whom he considered equal to Brahmā, and smiled and said. "Though shame exists equally in all, yet people allow a victor to gain ascendency over them. Fie to his life who being a servant performs not his duty. During my service at the king's feet, my black beard round the face has turned white with age, as the blue lotuses, beautifying a tank, close at the decline of the sun and white kumudas expand at

night. When the king dies, useless then is the enjoyment of fortune which is transcient as the movement of the brow. It is the custom of the wise not to take cowards into service; for their employers come to grief through their reluctance even to perform a slight task. One is afraid of cold when he puts off his clothes, but when he has bathed in the waters in a place of pilgrimage, he feels pleasure and the comfort, as if he becomes conscious of the presence of the great Brahmā. It is so in battle; those who leave their bodies there, feel a little afraid in the beginning, but afterwards obtain the repose which arises from great pleasure." Thus said he, and taking the arrows whose whizzling sound was like the breathing of a lion, he descended among the enemy's soldiers. The reflection of the golden hilt of the sword made the blade look yellow like arsenic, and the blade was as active in the battle as an actor is on the stage. His sword destroyed the swords of the enemies. Surely men were drawn on his weapon as if by magic, as a grass is drawn on the grass-jewel. He was followed by cowardly men who could only fight with the beasts that they saw and the grass which was the food of the animals. Somehow he came out from the mouth of death into which he had entered, as the water issues out of the ears of the whale when he shuts his mouth. Rilhana who behaved proudly towards his foes came out from them to relieve his weariness. He had continually compelled the enemies to retreat, and his strength was exhausted.

At this time Chatushka with a large army fell on his rear and Rilhaṇa at first took him to be some one who had come to help him. As a peacock is not enraged, but dances with joy at the sight of a serpent, even in the same manner did he behave when he saw the enemies facing him on both sides. He then exposed his front and his rear by turns to the two enemies and reduced their armies in battle, even as the churning hill wore away the two shores of the sea, when the ocean was churned. Between the two armies fixed as pegs, he, fleet as a horse, constantly moved about, like a weaver with his warp and his woof. He shone in the midst of the battle. As waters rush over the side of an island in which there is a break, so he was attacked by the enemy's army on whichever side he was weak. He performed very rapid movements, as if in play, and caused the weapons and ear-rings of the enemy's soldiers tremble, and they were stupified and unable to behave like men. He made their faces, like so many water pots, pale through fear, and drenched with perspiration and it seemed as if he again anointed the king in the kingdom.

At night Rilhaṇa and Pāṅktīhari having arrayed themselves sought each other's weak points, as the magician and the evil spirit do towards each other. On the next day, Rilhaṇa drove into the forests, the soldiers of the king who were sent to help him but who had hitherto behaved as witnesses. Sañjapāla who

thought that Trillaka was no longer innocent, came on the third day to Rilhaṇa. Trillaka had already been exhausted by the prowess of the king, he was now destroyed by these two, even as a tree in the forest is weakened by worms and is then quite dried up by the hot season and fire. Udaya gradually reduced the courage of Chatushka whose fire, like that of the funeral pyre, had not been quenched in useless battles. The proud soldiers of Darad, eager for battle, rode on horses, bore golden armours, and descended from the mountain caverns. The people feared that the countries attacked by the Turashkas would be subjected to them and believed that the whole world would be overspread by the Mlechchhas.* Dhanya, lord of Dvāra, marched out without any help, except his sword, on which rested his courage, and obstructed the enemy's troops who shone brightly in their golden armour, even as a hill with waterfalls arrests the course of the forest fire accompanied with cloud like flames. The soldiers of Darad, proud of their number, beat back Jayachandra. and others who had been preventing their march to the front, and descended into the battle field. The son of Garga [Dhanya] with twenty [thousand] horse speedily went and opposed their thirty thousand cavalry and defeated them. His enemies saw his superhuman

* The army of Darad as stated before, consisted mostly of the Mahomedans. Their power had already speared all about Kāshmīra, and the people of that country now began to fear of losing their independence.

prowess, for he appeared before each with his whole force. With their faces thrown over the reins of their horses, these cowardly men fled within a short time, and entered the hills like the Ķiṃpuruṣhas.

At night Rajāvadana, Jayachandra and others thus addressed the men of Darad who were ready to flee:— "It was owing to want of knowledge of the ground and owing to treachery that this defeat has happened, Tomorrow therefore take us to the front and restore victory." They falsely replied,—"So will it be." The powerful Valahara wished to establish peace; he caused Dhanya and the lord of Dvāra to proceed far, and then obstructed the road from behind. The Rājavījī [Bhoja ?] who was with the camp at Tāramūlaka thought of coming into terms. When Valahara wished for peace, the villains became glad, and the son of Salhaṇa [Bhoja] expected the conquest of the whole kingdom. Though he was accompanied by innumerable leaders of armies, he gained no victory; and yet he became proud, for he believed that his position was strong and his expectations would be realized. When the unfriendly tusk of the elephant destroyes the lotus, the body of the friend of the lotus [black bee] is also cut to pieces. When the moon rises, the beautiful and graceful sun-jewel parts with its heat. So at the time of danger good or evil may arrive, quite unexpected.

Nága was a Ḍāmara and had therefore always neglected Bhikṣhu at the time of trouble and headed the

rebels against the king on account of his kinship with Ṭikka and others. Rājavadana, on the other hand, was always trusted because he was not a Lavanya, and also because of his wonderful prosperity and his beneficial service in a time of difficulty. It is curious that both these men now turned unfriendly inorder to serve their own ends. Nága saw the rebellion commenced by others which he should have commenced and lamented, as does a poet when a brother poet obtains credit by explaining an easy passage. The king inorder to bring his enemies to his side, asked [Nága] with an assumed composure, to leave Rājavadana and to come under his protection. [Nága] who was like a milch cow addressed [the soldiers] saying,—"Here is [Rājavadana], the son of Tejas, a leader in the army, riding in the carriage in your presence. Why do you wait for him, as a sentinal waits for his time?" But they left him and laughed at him; for no work is done by the help of a goat. Men are engaged in pleasant or unpleasant work to serve their own ends, not alas! to do service to others. The two rows of teeth [of Rāhu] which the moon surpasses in luminocity still harass that luminary. The favorite places of the black bees are the elephants' temples because they long to taste the fluid issuing from them. The lotus loves not the moon because the moon is the sun's enemy; but it does not dislike the black bee who serves it though it serves the moon also.

[Nága] then published it among his own men that

Rājavadana who was not estranged from [the king] would destroy the men of Darad who were routed in battle, together with Bhoja. The celebrated Kṣhemavadana and Madhubhadra, two leaders of the lord of Kampana who were brought before the lord of Darad, and the terrified Ojas, lord of Koṭṭa;—these three privately held a consultation. But Bhoja who knew the hearts of men laughed at them. Though the king was surrounded by the soldiers, as the sun is by a crystal, yet [Bhoja] fell on Viḍḍasūryya, as on fuel, with a desire to burn the king. Viḍḍasūryya labored under anxiety on account of the danger of the king, as if he labored under consumption, and he became like the waning moon in the nights of the dark fortnight.

Suffering from disease, but chief in war and the defender of the rear,—even such a leader as Valahara was, at the place of attack, overcome with fright. On the next day he was deserted by all while he was at his meals. He descended the hill on horse-back and fled. They said that they would come again on the morning, after visiting Bahumata. They then sought the son of Salhana (Bhoja) and took him with them. Bhoja had secured his wealth, and was compelled to follow them. But when his purpose was fraustrated, he became anxious, like a man sunk in a hollow. All his arteries were filled with blood and swelled his body, and it looked like the stone of a staircase over which dirty water had flowed. Though his fall had been anticipated, yet

he now repeatedly thought as if he had fallen from the sky, and owing to his shame none could look upon his eyes. "Fie to us," he thought, "that we who saw the prowess of the king did not know ourselves, though we knew the ways of mortals. Great poets who by their genius have made truth graceful do not mislead us in describing the power of kings. If the fire of royal power had not existed in the world, wherefore then at his approach have we become restless? The bodies of heroes often soaked in rains could not be dried up except by the heat produced by such a flame [as royal power]. What else but the line of smoke arising from the fire should, like darkness, mislead us, whose eyes are wide open, from knowing the right from the wrong path?" Leaving the men of Darad who were on the other side of the Madhumatī, he arrived on the banks of that river and remained hid behind the waves.

The difficulties which the men of Darad had given rise to gradually disappeared, and they who were so long agitated by a desire to rebel against the king, took Bhoja within their tent and wished for peace with the king. They wished to serve the king as guards, and the king who was well versed in policy gave away much wealth to them. They thus said to Rājavadana,—"The approach of the dewy season which is nigh is not the time for war. In the month of Chaitra we will again begin to make preparations for battle. If you can afford to wait for sometime, then for the present, we

will place you in the house of the powerful Trillaka, on the road leading to the kingdom of Bhuṭṭa." Thus they said to Rājavadana who was in the neighbourhood of the king, and according to the policy of their country (Darad) they wished to establish peace between him and the king. They surpassed even the people of Rājapurī in cunning, even as the length of a summer day is surpassed by the length of the day of separation.

Valahara sent messengers to Rājavadana reproaching him by saying that he had fallen into the well by the breaking of the rope. In the midst of the battle [Valahara] saw the son of Garga (Dhanya) coming in advance and the soldiers of the king approaching, yet he did not lose his composure. When he heard of the sudden flight of the lord of Darad and of Bhoja and others his composure was not destroyed, and this indicated that he possessed that virtue in an eminent degree. Though there was difference in his party yet his battles did not cease, and he fought eagerly. Who can behave like him except a superhuman being or one possessed of special merit?

According to the necessities of the time, Dhanya and the lord of Dvara wished for peace. But [Valahara] expected the return of Bhoja and caused delay. Then came Alaṅkārachakra to take the son of Salhaṇa from the lord of Darad. The lord of Darad was his kindred and refused him nothing. He [the lord of Darad] suppressed the meeting of those who were determined to rebel and resolved against all persuation to die at the bridge

on the road. When his soldiers saw him, with servants mostly youths, about to die, they were afraid and became distressed. An offshoot of the river Balaharī had destroyed the road, and seemed to speak in disparagement of the soldiers of Darad by the noise of its dashing waves.

Viḍḍasiṃha was put to shame by the ladies of his household, by the jealous Mlechchha kings and by the undaunted soldiers, and he deserted the [lord of Darad]. Then the advanced guards broke the bridge and drove the enemy's soldiers to the other side of the river. [Viḍḍasiṃha] arrived among the latter with the sound of trumpet which pierced all sides. But when he and his soldiers were unable to cope with the antagonists, he sued for peace, and sent a messenger, whom he had brought with him, to the king. [The messenger thus said]:—"O! Master! Chief of the wise, of superhuman power! It is not possible to challange you, as if you were a petty neighbouring chief, I and Jayarāja will soon go to the realm of Death, and will easily be in heaven, the proclaimers of your prowess. The defeat I have sustained from your superhuman prowess is like a victory unto me,—even as the death of a pilgrim from the falling of a river bank in a holy place is a gain to him." He then resided for sometime in his town, and then set out and entered the house of Death, fittingly decorated by the garland of his evil deeds.

Not knowing that Bhoja was coming that day,

Rājavadana concluded peace with the lord of Dvāra and with Dhanya. He then returned and welcomed Ṣhaṣhṭha, the chief among the noble minded. Ṣhaṣhṭha came on horseback and entered the presence of the king, but when the Rājavījī Bhoja, who received no wounds, refused to come out either owing to vanity or ignorance or grief, the king became very anxious and repeatedly invited Rilhaṇa. But Rilhaṇa had not then destroyed all his enemies, so he did not return. He could by no means come before his master while his work yet remained undone, as a cook who longs to eat the remnant of the food partaken by his master cannot eat in his presence. During the war Rilhaṇa kept apart the two sons of Pṛithvīhara and made them useless for any work, even as Bhīma divided the body of the king of Magadha. As Aṛyyuna cut the serpent at Khaṇḍava, so did he sever Loṣhṭaka in battle, and Loṣhṭaka fell on the earth, as if on his own mother's lap. Chatuṣhka, deprived of his courage and pride, entered the invulnerable house of Trillaka, even as a tortoise enters his shell. By his heroism, Rilhaṇa completed the work, and he then proceeded to the king; as if desiring to obtain the light reflected from the nails of the king's feet, as a turban on his head.

When by the prowess of the king, the rebellion was thus quelled, it again broke forth owing to the dullness of his minister's intellect. Since Rājavadana who deserved punishment was soothed by gifts, he became

bold and again welcomed Bhoja who had arrived there. In a place called Dinnagrāma inhabited by the Khāshas, [Bhoja] gave a large bribe to [Rājavadana]. He then told [Rājavadana] :—"If either you or your retainers do not come tomorrow, then the lord of Dvāra who is accompanied with a limited number of followers will come to me." When the stream of courage was reduced, Trillaka with a trembling heart, spread out the rope of policy and fixed the lord of Dvāra like a boat. [Tillaka] had expected that the king, in exulting over the difficulties overcome, would become negligent, and this cunning man was the first to create disorder again.

Though Alaṅkāra and other ministers kept the king at ease, yet they had no self command over themselves, and did not give up difficult and crooked ways. The king neglected Trillaka, as physicians neglect diseases not yet developed, and began to root out other enemies who were like boils fit to be opened. Alaṅkāra said to Bhoja :—"Come to our assistance when we are in fear," and he set out and commenced civil war. The villain named Jayānandavāra, son of Ānandavāra, and others of Kramarājya who were renowned for their valor followed him.

The king fell on Alaṅkāra who had advanced with a small force, even as the sea falls on an embankment made of sand. But Alaṅkāra fought alone against many enemies, and in the first part of the battle, he harassed the men. The field of battle was filled by the

Rākṣhasas excited by drinking [human blood,] and it was soon washed by blood, even as a tavern is washed by wine. What else need be said? Even as the wind blows away a heap of cotton, so did the king, drive away the dreadful army of the enemies. In the battle he killed the son of Ānandavāra with arrows and left him as food for flights of swooping birds, vultures and Kaṅkas.

Bhoja who was longing to rise, and the king who was longing to seize him, were like a partridge running in the mire and the fowler following. As the partridge, unable to fly, gets tired by running over the mire, and as the fowler, constantly following it, gets weary, so in this work of violence Bhoja became weakened, and the king too, wishing to capture him, was every moment bewildered even more than Bhoja.

When Bhoja was at Dinnagrāma, the king said to Rājavadana:—"What! Will the thieves and the Ḍāmaras again obtain the ascendency?" At this time the Ḍāmaras, whose party had been broken before, took over to their side, the powerful men from outside the town in larger numbers than before, But when the lord of Dvāra arrived, these men were not only not able to withstand him, but were frightened out of their purpose, in an irresistible battle. For the relief of these men, Alaṅkārachakra gave money to the son of Salhaṇa [Bhoja] and informed him of the defeat, and brought him near himself. On the next day when [Bhoja] intended

to go over to them, the lord of Dvāra, whose soldiers lay weary at Hāyāshrama, understood his purpose. But as if not knowing their secret union, the lord of Dvāra went on some pretence to Sannāramūlaka which was situated in a difficult position. When he was there, Bhoja heard a noise in the evening coming from some distant place, and he became uneasy and said something. Though his own men laughed at this causeless apprehension, he remained afraid but arranged the horses. At this time Alaṅkārachakra was also struck with fear, and he cried out:—"Where art thou O! Rājaputra," and swiftly fled from Dashagrāma. At night fall, the sound of trumpet bespoke an attack, and the noise of the soldiers rose from the village. Bhoja, invisible in darkness, fled; and Alaṅkārachakra busied himself in making preparations for the battle on the next day. The fire lighted by the lord of Dvāra, which showed the mountain way, became advantageous to those bewildered in the dark. The Ḍāmaras who had consented to the terms of peace of the lord of Dvāra, in the expectation of the arrival of Bhoja, disbanded themselves when they heard of this occurrence.

Bhoja remained with a composed mind and did not deprive himself of the delights arising from affection for his children, and enjoyed the pleasures of eating and drinking. In anger he began an inauspicious quarrel with Alaṅkārachakra, and as Alaṅkārachakra was strong, he did not put up with the quarrel. At the burning of

Tripura, the fire arose from the arrow; and at the churning of the ocean, the heat arose from the submarine fire; the friendship of the lord of the serpents with Mandāra was not productive of happiness. Similarly the friendship between Alaṅkārachakra and Bhoja did not prove happy in result.

In order to destroy the weariness caused by hunger and thirst, Bhoja came to his own possession, and the sons of Alaṅkāra wished to establish peace with him again. Their father intending to accomplish various results, concluded peace with Bhoja, either by his own will or according to their plan. Bhoja came out of his estates and went to others. The other [Alaṅkāra,] who understood business felt certain that the work could not be accomplished by the Valahara. So without depending on the Lavanyas, he again went to Dinnāgrāma. The lord of Dvāra who was an able man and was steady in bringing about the good of his friends was, in the meantime, suddenly checked in his career by an eye disease. The two girls whom the Ḍāmara had wished to give to Bhoja, were given by him to Parmmāḍi and Gulhaṇa, sons of the king, now that Bhoja was worsted.

At the time when punishment was inflicted on the rebels, the lord of Dvāra was suffering from serious illness; so when he came to the place of punishment he ordered a conciliation. At the time when the battle was raging, even Ṣhaṣhṭhachandra, son of Garga, weakened by piles, met his death. And at the time when he

was suffering from illness, his two younger brothers being under excitement, harassed the earth by inroads.

Trillaka who had greatly fixed his mind on war, made up his differences with the powerful enemies of the king and did not accept the proposal of the king.

When Ṣhaṣhṭha died and the lord of Dvāra was laid up with illness, Dhanya, employed by the king, went to Tāramūlaka. Bhoja who was liked by others was driven out [from the place where he went] and was within the reach of the strong. But the king thought that whether Bhoja remained fixed in a place or was driven out of the country, he should be brought under the king's power by such means as conciliation, and he wished to get hold of him. He had mortally offended Bhoja who was acting as his enemy. This unwise policy, the result of which could not be foreseen, proved fatal to the king, like a serpent when pulled by the tail. For the people both within and without [the capital] believed that Rājavadana was strong and that the king was weak; and they gradually turned against the king. Alas! There are many hollows to be found in the ground, and a policy of inflicting punishments is similarly full of dangers. He who enters these hollows may either find spacious room therein, or not knowing the ground may fall. The Valahara said to Rājavadana:—"It is the king's desire that Bhoja should be sent away from us, and if Bhoja be in need of money, he will, of his own accord, depart from us." Thus saying he settled a maintenance

for Bhoja. Rājavadana saw that the king was about to succeed in his design, and bent on adopting some wily means, he agreed to the proposal.

At every step Dhanya made peace with the Valahara and held personal communication with him; and so he became the object of laughter of the people. The king's affair was constantly thrown backward, and like the rope of the wheel in a well, it found no end. His tactics, though clever did not prevail, and were unsuccessful, even as a sharp arrow cannot penetrate a wheel in motion. In the civil war during which two sovereigns were removed and which is now carried on by the remaining one, the king became confounded, as in chess play. The Valahara intended to win over Nāga, but had neither infantry nor cavalry to execute his purpose; he nevertheless persisted in his aim without such assistance. He deceived his enemies by craft. The villains [party of the Valahara] were addicted to dice, and were waiting for the end of the winter season. The Valahara consequently apprehended the destruction of his own men by Nāga who was strong and remained unslakened in his enmity and had commenced to commit unfriendly acts. Nāga and Dhanya ran [after the Valahara] who trembled with fear. He then consulted Bhoja and sent a message to Dhanya to the following effect :—"Bring Nāga bound to me, and I will give up Bhoja." Dhanya had in previous instances arrested many enemies, but he was now confounded by the danger, and did not understand the

policy. of the enemy. The mind of kings becomes deprived of its intelligence when impelled by elf interest, and it is not surprising if they are led to bad acts. For the sake of his beloved, even the heroic descendant of Kakutstha, [Rāma] sided with Sūgrīva and blind with self interest, killed Vālī unfairly. The king of the Pāṇḍavas, [Yudhiṣhṭhira] was virtuous, but his intellect was clouded by vanity and the desire for a kingdom; and thus he abandoned his truthfulness and caused the death of Droṇa. But the action of the king on the present occasion was not blamable. Since the time of Bhikṣhu, Nāga was always rebelling, and on account of his hostility, the king was waging war, for self interest, and had become indifferent towards him. The king arrested [Nāga] without taking any pledge for obtaining Bhoja. Sensible men became for this reason angry with him. This action of the king was finally productive of good results, but such results were not foreseen by him, and could not be foreseen except by superhuman intelligence. Bhoja, as if estranged [from the Valahara] sent information to Nāga that "the Valahara intends to give me up to the king after taking from the king a pledge for his surrendering you to the Valahara." Bhoja did not believe that he would be seized, but said this to Nāga in the hope that Nāga, out of fear of the king, might remain neutral.

When Ṣhaṣhṭhachandra died, the king caused Nāga to be brought to him, by means of Jayachandra whom

he had won over to his side. Fearing that [Jayachandra] whom the king had brought over to his side would kill him, the minister [Nāga] was preparing to depart, but Bhoja caused him to be obstructed. Even after knowing that he had been drawn there by these two men, Nāga lost his self control, and sent a message, through messengers, to Bhoja. When a man sinks in the womb of the stream of fate, his ears cannot hear the voice of one warning him, from the banks, of his condition. When Nāga was arrested, his terrified relatives came and took protection of the crafty Valahara who could with difficulty be seen. Dhanya took with him Nāga who was the price for buying Bhoja, ran together with Rilhaṇa, and went to the Valahara. The Valahara who was deceiving them, laughed internally and misled them saying :—"Give up Nāga to me first, and I will give up Bhoja to you."

The Valahara, who was difficult of access, engaged himself in battle with Dhanya and Rilhaṇa. The soldiers of the two had become united, and had come a long way, to fight. But they were weakened by the disadvantages of carrying on war during the rains. The Valahara told them that he would act according to their wish [*i. e.* would give up Bhoja] at the time when they would retire. One of them marched away, and they became detached from each other in the way, and being involved in battle they were confounded and they lost their senses. The Valahara's firmness and strength were

ample. In these wonderful times such merits are rare in heroes. Dhanya lost his way and boldly came up to the side of [the Valahara]; but [the Valahara] did not attack him, and out of greed, he did not act against Bhoja, but he thought that should the ministers give up Nāga to him, in their bewilderment, he would ask [the king] for his reinstatement in his post.

Loshṭaka, son of [Nāga's] brother, was a determined man and had obtained property when Nāga was afar; and was secretly [Nāga's] enemy. He caused Nāga to be killed by Dhanya and others. When Nāga was destroyed by the ministers blinded by causeless enmity, [the king's] own men and others blamed the ill advised act. The Ḍāmaras, followers of Nāga, became angry at the murder of their own tribes-man, and set themselves up against [the king] and took refuge of the powerful Valahara. When a man gets confused at the approach of danger, and wanders from his object, and does evil deeds, Fate determines his work. Auspicious Fate puts an end to the miseries of the man who, having obtained money, finds it difficult to enjoy it, who first allows his mind to travel in evil ways, loses self control and then turns about hastily into a hollow, and who shows on his person the marks produced by the stroke of the scabbard of other men. Bhoja did not know the fate of Nāga, after whom none enquired, and who was thus murdered by the wise ministers. Bhoja entertained fears about him and entertained these suspicions :—

"It cannot be apprehended that the wise king who has not yet established peace will do this evil deed [murder of Nâga] to obtain his wished-for end. Rājavadana who is busy, and is glad because the war is to continue, has got me in his possession; but he will deceive the party headed by Dhanya by saying that I am in other hands and beyond his reach, and that he is at a loss to find out what to do. Perhaps Rājavadana may inform me if something else has happened [to Nāga.] Tempted, as Rājavadana is, by the frequent occurrence of continuous rebellion, owing to anarchy, since the time of Bhikṣhu, will he not take pity on the world?" In order to assuage his fears, the fearless Khāshakas protected the treasury. Bhoja gave expression to his fears and placed guards all around where he stayed. The Valahára who was difficult of access came to the side of Bhoja in order to gain his confidence.

On the other hand, the fearless king who understood his work was angry because, owing to the dullness of the ministers' intellect, his work was frustrated, and soon came to a close. The month of Chaitra does not wither the trees, nor does the approach of the rainy season dry up the rivers. Courteous reception does not take away from the glory of meritorious men, nor does distance diminish the desire to see the object of delight. The attempt after great things does not destroy wealth, nor does excessive grief lead to victory. Even so the king Simhadeva was not instrumental in causing the

failure of deeds that should have been accomplished. The work which failed on account of powerful opposition could not be accomplished by going against the power, just as a current cannot be crossed over by going against the stream. The wise king, therefore, whom his enemies erroneously considered to be a fool, displayed an outward appearance of folly to them, only to deceive them. By means of bribes he caused Bhoja to suspect the council that was held around him. The surface of rivers is perfumed by the smell issuing from the body of the musk deer, but those who remain within doors believe the smell to proceed from fire. As a bird fears to be in its nest if there be a hole in it, and also fears to fall into the net spread outside, by coming out of the nest, even so did Bhoja become confused and sorrowful. He mistrusted those inside, and his way outside was obstructed. He was afraid even to flee. He became uneasy, and could not for a moment see anything that could comfort his mind or which he could decide as the proper course for his benefit in this world or for the next.

The grief of others which is akin to one's own sorrow melts the heart and causes pain. The black bee, imprisoned in the cup of the lotus, is grieved the more on hearing the lamentation of the Chakravāka also suffering from the pangs of separation. Bhoja saw a Dvija who had received deep wounds in a strife; the blood had been a little dried up, his hair was

torn, and foam was issuing from his month and he was weeping. When questioned, the Brāhmaṇa said that the wicked Ḍāmaras had taken all he had, and had thus wounded him; and he blamed Bhoja for being unable to protect him. Oppressed with grief every day, Bhoja became like one who had been wounded, and bled anew. He consoled the Brāhmaṇa and said, "O! Brāhmaṇa! I am not to be blamed, I am in difficulty myself, and am therefore an object of your favor." Then said the other, "O! Son of a king! thou who knowest good from bad, thou who art a youth, and born in a good family and proud, say what is the use of your striving for the unattainable? What object have you in view in endangering your life, in bowing to the low-minded, and in oppressing men with hardships? The king appears to you as one who can be subdued, but do not you know that he is like gold, fire-proof, and can plunge into the fire of the enemy's valor? Even the points of the weapons have no effect on him, as the oval shaped petals of the blue lotus have none on the moon-jewel. Even the Avatāra Prithvīhara and others were subdued by him, and will not weaker people be ruined by fighting against him? Why do you vaunt even after you have understood the acts of those who live by the civil war, and who are like serpents wishing to sting him who feeds them, but caught by the serpent-catcher? Alas! it is in vain that the young ones of serpents, born to bear the world, take shelter in holes ir villages where serpent catchers abide.

These serpent-catchers frighten people by making the serpents rise and sink in the road, not with a view to make the serpents known, but to earn their own livelihood by begging." When thus spoken to, Bhoja left the Brāhmaṇa after consoling him. Bhoja's good sense instantly returned to him at this time. Good behaviour leads to peace, otherwise the mildness of character would be cruelty. When the nectar is touched by the beams of the sun, it becomes solid, and the moon-jewel, although a solid stone, melts speedily when touched by the beams of the moon. Bhoja, born in a royal family, had not lost all sense of shame. He thought for a moment about the great difference between himself and the king. "In heroism, policy and gifts, in truth and goodness and other virtues, even the former kings dwindled in comparison with our master (king). What are we, little beings, that vie with him? Even in moments when his power blazes forth, he retains his coolness and patience. We fools, though made inert by being subdued, become fiery! The high sandal, tree, though thickly beset with serpents, with fire-like poison, remains cool; but the cavity of the deep well, becomes warm in the dewy season when we shiver to our ribs with cold. If in order to find relief, shelter should be sought of the king; his heart is strong, and he will not be angry because of the troubles planned against him. If a man sets fire to a vigorous sandal tree, in order to burn it, and if scorched by that fire, he comes near the tree

to relieve his burning, will not that sandal tree be beneficial to him? Dhanya, in order to relieve the wise king from all troubles, served him repeatedly, as if in atonement of some injury done.

Bhoja who was seeking means to appease the king saw messengers come to the Valahara, one by one. In order to learn the news beforehand, Bhoja called to his side one of them who was going to the country of Darad. As the messenger bowed to him, he smiled a little and said :—"What is the use of the king's making peace with others, let him make peace with me. Physicians give diet to the sick through sensible men." The messenger did not at first believe him and laughed in jest. But he afterwards understood him, and after some conversation on various subjects, was somewhat convinced. Bhoja's speech, which was without vanity, inspired confidence in the man, and when it ended, the messenger praised the king in the presence of Bhoja and said :—"Only the virtuous can obtain the shadow of the feet of the king who is born of a prince, is of a happy disposition, and is like the shadow of the golden mountain. His anger is assuaged by small persuation, as the heat of the autumn sun is removed from the water by the beams of the moon. Do you remember that when you were about to enter the Darad country, I was present before you, engaged as a spy? When I returned, I told the king about the principal events respecting you; and in order to cause delay, I engaged myself in a long conversa-

tion with him. In the midst of this coversation, I told him that weary with hunger, thirst and the toils of journey, your followers were blaming you, but that when you saw me, you rebuked them and said :—'The king is the ornament of his dynasty and is to us like a god, we are without virtues, that we cannot serve his feet. It is owing to him that we who are extremely worthless have become great; the wood that is scented with sandal is mistaken for the sandal wood.' As soon as the king heard this, he felt pity for you, and asked as a father does of a child, 'what does that boy [Bhoja] say of me?'—and he looked as if he were your father." When Bhoja heard this, his heart melted, and with tears within him, he thought as if the king had come before him and had consoled him. Not accustomed to understand the clear expressions of the mind, the messenger could not know his heart as a philosopher would have known.

The purpose of Bhoja, who was safe from danger, was not believed by Dhanya, and he disbelieved the king's spy who was sent as a messenger to Bhoja. Bhoja privately told the Valahara that he was not in earnest, but was playing a part as in the case of Nāga, that he was acting as a hypocrite and trying to impose upon the king, so there need be no quarrel between them [Bhoja and the Valahara]. Thus pretending simplicity, he tried to establish his peace with the king. Bhoja without delay employed a boy, a native of the place, as messenger. He was fit to be a counsellor at that time,

and was skilful in conspiracy. As Bhoja was young, the Valahara did not suspect that he would act independently and engage himself in a conspiracy every day. The boy returned and told Bhoja that the king who was solicited [to establish peace with Bhoja] was waiting to receive a trustworthy messenger for the purpose. There being no trustworthy person about Bhoja, he sent to the king, his own nurse who was known by various names, even though she was a woman and did not possess a brilliant intellect. She was worthy of honor, and was the younger sister of Bhoja's father; and when his parents died and left him an orphan, she acted as his mother. In order to please her husband, she served without jealousy as a companion to her co-wives, removing disagreement between them and offering them ornaments. By the due fulfilment of her duties, she convinced her husband of her trustworthyness. She was a gentlewoman and a good Kṣhetriya woman on whom the king always looked with no small delight. When the king was crowned, it was she, the principal queen, who wore that desirable object, the tiara made by her father-in-law and the subjects. Her mind, though affected by the love of offspring, the desire of enjoyment, and the wish to please her husband, does not run after evil things. In the present treaty of peace, as on other treaties of peace, she did not differ in opinion from her husband. She was not vain at the time of the ascendency of her fortune, and her good purpose was

never defeated. From her young age she understood the purpose of her husband. She preserved her dignity and her family name; and in her acts there is no probability of her having recourse to cunning. Such was lady Kalhaṇīkā whom Bhoja thought of making a mediator between him and the king. She journied on foot till she reached the frontier. For her protection, Bhoja gave much wealth, and the wealth was kept in the centre of the party. For her expenses on the road, he gave much money in which gold predominated; and he sent her with eight well-born Rajputs to serve her, and with every mark of royalty.

Dhanya took with him a messenger, and, together with the king, went to her and assured her of the fulfilment of her yet unaccomplished desire, since it was likely that the king would soon confide in her. But the mind of the king was vacilating, and he had not yet come to a decision. He was without animosity, and thought thus:—"Is it owing to the indifference of the world or through hypocrisy that her mind has been thus changed? She should be rescued from difficulty. The sun rising in the midst of an undispelled mass of clouds prevails at last; and even so the feeling of entire resignation at last prevails over all worldly attachments. Is it that Bhoja knows our opposition to the foolish and careless Nāga, and is he therefore acting with hypocrisy? This sort of indifference to worldly things is never seen in persons who have attained their objects, who are totally weak, who are

young, who have the support of their numerous adherents or who are engaged in the work of a Kshatriya. Or as the saffron flower grows without the plant, the fig fruit without the flower, is it that the feeling of indifference to worldly things in great minds does not wait for adverse circumstances? If this prince [Bhoja] be the receptacle of hypocrisy, he should not be left aside; but if he is really changed, what is the use of our sight without seeing him? This princess and these Rajputs bespeak the loss of dignity; and she is so simple that she cannot see through any object clearly. The river that flows circuitously is not clearly seen by all, even like the drops of water flowing through a woman's hair." Thus thought the king, and listening to the advice of Dhanya and Rilhaṇa, he dismissed others and performed the duty of a king according to true wisdom.

The messengers told Dhanya that Bhoja, inorder to serve his own interests, wished to have an interview with him, and took Dhanya with them. "Fear not the soldiers, Bhoja wants to make peace." Thus they told Dhanya. Dhanya, with a limited number of followers, stationed himself on an island in a river, expecting Bhoja. But when the snow from Charmma melted, the river became waist deep, and was formidable with waves that embraced the sky, and became unfordable by elephants, as if by reason of jealousy against these animals. Then blocked up in the river, Dhanya came within the power of the enemies who were seeking for an opportunity.

On both sides the water extended to the banks and in the midst, they, pressed together and dressed in pale colored clothes, looked like the foam of the water. When Bhoja's army arrived, many thousands of Khashakas belonging to that army planned the destruction of Dhanya who was in this critical situation. Anxious to avoid the perpetration of a crime, and also touched by pity at looking at Dhanya's timid and pitiable eyes, the son of Salhaṇa pacified his wicked followers and thus whispered into their ears. "If he who has come running, in humility and confidence for us, be doomed to death, surely our descent to hell will be unavoidable. If he be killed, the strength of the master who has many servants will not be reduced. The speed of Garuḍa is not destroyed by the loss of one feather. If we betray the confidence of king thus, we will get a bad name. Deal fairly with a foe in equal position; why murder deliberately? I am inclined to serve the same king, leaving other work aside, whom he serves for money." When he had said these words of reason, and even resolved on his own death [in case they did not hear him], they were dissuaded from their firm purpose. At night Bhoja boldly went to protect Dhanya in his disadvantageous position. The [Khashas] were made to drink, and the fact was intimated to Bhoja. The king was informed without reserve, by Bhoja, [of what was going on], but that wise sovereign whose senses were not bewildered, felt doubtful about the

conclusion of the peace and unçertain about the success of the negociation without making an impression on the heart of the enemy; and he sent queen Sāmānyā to Tāramūlaka. She consented to go according to her lord's request, but she feared some unavoidable cruelty, the outcome of the king's policy, and said:—"O! son of Ārya! How can the enemies trust us, having once seen the depravity of the great ministers; or how can human being fathom the superhuman depth of your intelligence? My life, I deem, is for your service, but the virtue of the chaste woman cares naught for the policy of king. This Bhoja will behave badly towards you, as may be expected in this Kaliyuga. O! lord! Bhoja has commenced to sell snow in the Himālaya. Now-a-days even an ordinary man admits none to be his equal, nor knows the difference between his mind and those of others, and is generally guilty of excessive pride. Even well behaved kings, lose their sense when angry with a son or annoyed at an advice, and fly against trustworthy men. Your orders are never given in vain, and there can be no delay in carrying them out; you are quaffing the drink of fame from three worlds, as from a vessel, in company with me. I disregard the destruction of my life, and am also earning that fame. But you should save my reputation from being exposed before such men as have different motives and are selfish." Thus said the chaste queen and remained silent; but the truth-abiding king, without soothing her fear, deputed a step-mother of his, of inferior caste, to accompany her.

"What is the king revolving in his mind?" Thus wondered all the people. The king employed various means, after sending the queen, and did not leave untried any means that might have been employed. Owing to the division in the king's own party, all the Ḍāmaras, both great and small, who were neutral, examined the strength and weakness of the king, and the chain of their friendly attachment became feeble, and they went over to those whom Bhoja had attracted to his side. "Even by our remaining neutral," said they, "Bhoja has in the civil war become powerful;" and they threw off their neutrality.

Trillaka sent his son to Bhoja without delay and caused Chatuṣhka with a large army to enter Shamāla. The Ḍāmaras of Nilāshva who had even at the time of Bhikṣhu's rebellion preserved their friendliness towards the king, now went over to the enemies. Of the Ḍāmaras from Lahara, Devasarasa and Holarāt, only three remained faithful and only one Ḍāmara woman of all the Ḍāmaras from Nilāshva remained so. The snow fell on the Lavanya force of the son of Salhaṇa, which became like roaring ocean waves maddened by the fall of rain.

But when the Valahara heard that Bhoja had gone to the queen with the fixed intention of establishing peace, he spoke thus in no ambiguous terms. "Man was misled by man during these days, but now that female relatives have become mediators, men belonging to their own family must come to terms. When Bhoja, the chief of the family, has acted thus out of love, how can men,

like myself whom no one reckons, behave rudely.' This you say is hypocrisy, be it so. He begot my confidence and then I am deceived; I will not have a bad reputation. All men have united against us, be not therefore hopeful of victory. We have seen armies like ours destroyed before this." He spoke these reasonable words, and many other words after deliberation; but neither he nor others could turn Bhoja from his purpose. Two or three days before the battle, the king asked Bhoja why he acted contrary to previous arrangement, just at the eve of reaping the fruit of his good work.

At the time when the king stayed at Tāramūḷaka, Dhanya and Rilhaṇa accompanied with armies and Rajputs went to Pāñchigrāma. When Bhoja learnt that the two had arrived on the southern bank of the river and were staying there, he too sat down in the woods on the opposite bank. When the king's army saw that the soldiers from various quarters incessantly enter the camp of the enemy, none of them believed that there would be peace. Dhanya and others had entered the place forcibly and were unable to come out, they had a small force with them; and Rājavadana constantly meditated the plan for their destruction. With a view to destroy the king's army, some people cut the bridge from Sūryyapura, and sat hid on the boats which were at the Mahāpadma lake. Others of the king's enemies who sought for bold adventure and were about to fall on the king's army stayed at various points on the road.

Bhangileya and other Ḍāmaras meditated an attack on the town of Shankaravarmmā from the Kṣhiptikā to the Samālā. Trillaka and others calculated that they would reach the banks of the great river, and that the Ḍāmaras of Nīlāshva would commence hostility outside the town. What more should be said? It was planned that all should fall simultaneously on the followers of the king who were like ducks surrounded by water, and kill them. But this plan, which was not well directed, was stopped by the rains which fell at that time, as the planets for the drought were afar.

The Valahara wished to pursue the road taken by the royal army, but Bhoja busied himself in thwarting his desire at every step. At every moment Bhoja feared the breaking up of the peace, and removed the obstacles which arose to the execution of his scheme. He himself boldly and speedily removed all those difficulties which arose in the two camps.

Flatterers of the king who bragged about the duties of messengers and pretended to devise plans of operations became frightened and uneasy at this time of difficulty. Men of low position, who whisper in the king's ears old news which have been proclaimed to the world by the beating of drums, who repeat in a miserable tone what men are likely to be ashamed of, who praise the heart-rending deeds of the cruel enemies, and who are cunning and ignorant, become flatterers of the king. The villains who act as jesters in the dancing room, who are prone to use rude words, who are like a poet in an

assembly, like a dog in the courtyard of one's own house, and like a bawd in the hill and cavern;—enter the house of a king as heroes in eating. It is strange that in other places they go like tortoises drawn out of the lake.

When the power of the sun declined, the heat abated, and the day soon rested on the summit of the mountain; in the round earth, the sun gave up his post to his brother twilight, and having placed his rays on the mountain head, became a blood-red disk; and men with clasped hands adored that conjunction between day and night;—when the moon was about to rise, the tusk of the elephants glittered, the moon-jewel was dewed on the surface, the sea swelled, and the black bees rested on the meagre lotuses which seemed like the frontal globes on the heads of elephants;—the ministers being in danger, and not knowing how the thing would terminate, lamented by the banks of the river. As those who are carried off by the waves do not know what to take hold of, so their light and bewildered minds did not display intelligence. The Valahara who sat on the other side of the river and whose plan for the battle was matured, was constantly opposed by the son of Salhana. The ministers who arrived there too late for the work, and with a limited force, could have been easily destroyed by the Valahara whose army continued to swell, as men continue to pour in the place of pilgrimage, at the confluence of the Vitastā and the Indus, crowded like a town.

In order to prevent the destruction of the Ḍāmaras, Bhoja sent letters with a small detachment of foreigners under Nāga, and a body of Rajputs. Neither by his own cunning followers nor by tumults could the patient Bhoja be moved from his cool determination and fixed purpose. Bhoja believed that when the feudatory chiefs would arrive and distrust the Valahara, he would be enraged by such distrust and do great harm; and if the Valahara once began the mischief, the Ḍāmaras would rise on all sides, as Brāhmaṇas do at the sound of Oṅkāra. He therefore pretended that he intended fighting against the king, and soothed the Valahara by saying that he would do some daring deed at the wane of night. When the feudatory chiefs who had come to do the work of Bhoja were in want of food, Bhoja, who was born of noble family, also abstained from food.

The mistrustful ministers did not know that Bhoja's intention was altered. They thought that he would not come over to the king. At the fluttering of the bird's wings, or at the movement of the small fish they apprehended that their enemies came running and were about to attack them. Satisfied with their own position on the other side of the river, they did not sympathise with the grief of separation of any but of the Chakravaka. The wind, the father of Hanumāna, Rama's messenger who crossed the sea, gave strength to their messengers to cross over the river. In this way they passed the night taking shelter of the enemies [illegible]

pained at the rustling sound of the trees on the banks and who remained sleepless.

When the night waned, when the rays of the rising sun had not yet dispelled the mistake that the tinged snow on the mountain crest was a golden lotus, when the nightdew had not yet trickled from the buds which were like the eyes of the sorrowing creepers shedding tears at seeing the separation of the Chakravāka from its mate; it was then that the hero [Bhoja] with a few infantry issued from the woody bank of the river and roused the war horses kicking them on the head. He wished to obstruct the progress of the Ḍāmara warriors and resisted their prowess. The warriors of that people ran away on all sides at his sight. They saw him armed with an axe, well dressed, and of youthful appearance, come in the front riding in a vehicle and reaching the bank of the river. They had not seen him like that before. His curl was marked with sandal paste and his forehead was besmeared with saffron; and when they saw him, they knew that it was Bhoja. Having spent the night and having deceived Rājavadana, he had in the morning taken a hasty adieu of him and had come out. When the carriage had entered the water, the delighted Dhanya and others came quickly to him from the other side, riding on horses, and surrounded him. Great noise then arose in the two camps, in the one for the departure, and in the other that of rejoicing. When the Ḍāmaras heard the noise they

believed that the battle had commenced, and they came running from all sides. But when they saw Bhoja joined with the enemies, they struck their heads [in despair].

After congratulations, Bhoja, remained true to his usual practice, and acquitted his promise to noble Dhanya and others. Dhanya restrained the overflowing joy of his heart and thus spoke in praise of Bhoja:—"O! son of a king! Patient and of magnanimous mind! The earth is hallowed by you as by the mountain Sumeru. Your mother has humbled the pride of all mothers by her humility. You are like cream in the sea of cream. Who else, beside yourself, has come away from the company of the low and has joined his own kindred, like the kokila? It is not strange that the path of virtue, first trodden by you, should long afterwards be walked over by us?" Thus the conversation went on, and the mind of Bhoja was delighted. He rode a horse which had become ungovernable as with success, and was led by those who were praising him. The Lavanyas for many a krosha reproached Bhoja who was being led by his kindred, as the crows reproach the kokila when it is led by its tribe, and then they went away. Thus in the year 21, on the tenth day of Jyaishṭha, the king drew to his side Bhoja who was aged 33 years.

The queen welcomed Bhoja who came like a beloved son and bowed to her. His servants were weary; and the queen arranged for his meal. He was possessed of

qualifications not unworthy of the family of Indra, and the queen thought that the eyes which did not see him were useless. Bhoja too, on account of her unassumed virtues of honesty, compassion and mildness, thought the king to be of pure character. The color of the face is the door to the working of the mind, a bright door indicates prosperity within, and the behaviour of women is indicative of the character of the husband. When the day declined, he felt the weariness of travelling, and he was anxious to go to the king; but none asked him, out of kindness, to enter the room. The ministers overcame their coldness and ill feeling with difficulty and said that "the king orders the turbulent to behave well." These words spoken as a sort of a preface, entered Bhoja's ears as he was entering the presence of the king, and hurt them as with a stick. He was wounded, as it were, at a vital point, but he consoled himself, and thought with a feeling of contempt that the bravery of these low men was only lip deep. The ruffled state of the mind of Bhoja who did not care for his life was soothed by those rude speakers when they bowed their heads in humility. The conduct of the just and fluent Bhoja could not be influenced by such things, though his mind might be ruffled. Dhanya, who was ever obedient to his master, the king, thus spoke courteously to Bhoja, while the rays of his teeth issued like a fountain. "You know the rules of kingly decorum, and have always behaved in a proper manner.

do not then get impatient if things happen in their due course. That treaty is imperfect, in which one goes away without seeing the party with whom the treaty is made. Why did you not calculate this before? The king knows you to be radient with goodness, and attentive to the duty towards your kindred. It is not often that kings obtain such adherents as yourself, in modern times. The king will not behave towards you with vanity or pride, indifference or coldness through the advice of cunning men. The breath of men cannot soil the mirror like purity of his courtesy. The grace of his life is not equalled by the grace which appears in his kingdom. The light which is reflected from the sun does not issue from a burning lamp. There is a holiness in pious conversation which exists only in the cottages of Ṛishi; and a similar holiness exists in this Ṛishi-king and draws to his side those who oppose him. What more can a wealthy king do for you whose house will soon be graced by prosperity? The man who forsakes the water in the tank in the summer time is considered a greater fool than the serpent which coils round the cool sandal tree in summer, and in the month of Māgha enters its old warm hole. The queen and the princes are a portion of the king, and even if they commit something wrong, it is right in their estimation, provided it be done for the king's good. Your work is now like water cooled after being once boiled; if you heat it again, it will be, like water, tasteless."

Unable to put any construction to these words and unwilling to disregard them, Bhoja behaved in a more open manner, and delayed his departure. On his way he saw on all sides, the inhabitants who had composed pieces in his praise, and this confirmed him in his determination to persevere in his good work. The dust raised by the feet of the infantry seemed like a delusion, as if the earth had established peace with the sky. The wise Bhoja meditated whether he should go to the king, or if his visit to the king would be prevented by the deceitful courtiers. Who can, thought Bhoja, by simply remaining at home and there serving his master, make his worth known to him? Deceitful men oppose him in the way. The current of water descending from the Himālaya flows to the sea with a view to cool the ocean which is heated by the submarine fire, and thus to find favour with the sea. But as soon as it falls into the sea, it is swallowed up by whales and is destroyed. He remained still with these and other thoughts, and consequently did not notice the noise of the city. But when the horses of the soldiers were stopped, he knew that the palace was nigh.

The king saw him at last. He was of middle stature and not very thin, his face was darkened by the rays of the sun and was fair like the pericarp of the lotus, his body was languid and relaxed with toil, his shoulders were high like the hump of an ox, his breast was expanded, and his beard which was not long disclosed his

high cheeks and ample neck. His nose was high and his lips were like the ripe bimba. His limbs were ample but not disproportionately so, and his head was bent. He was calm and moved slowly; the turban on his head was made of clothes collected together, and kissed the parting of the hairs, and the lines on his forehead were fair as the moon, and seemed to extend the marks of the sandal paste. The king saw him descend from the horse and approach him like the god of love, with the royal ministers around him.

The eyes of the king expanded with delight, and Bhoja at the king's request ascended the assembly. The way was obstructed by men who stretched out their necks out of curiosity. Bhoja touched the feet of the king with his hand, and sat before him, and placed before the king's seat, the dagger which he held in his hand. The king placed his hand, like the hood of a serpent, with two fingers projecting, on Bhoja's chin, and said :—"You are not captured in battle, and will not be imprisoned now, why shall I then accept this weapon placed by you?" Bhoja replied to the king. "O! king! To take up arm for the defence of one's master is the means of securing his own salvation. You protect the seven seas by your own valour, and we rarely find an opportunity for doing you service by our weapon. The shelter of my lord's feet will be my protection in the next world; what is the use then of any other means of salvation in this world?" The king then

spoke like a wise man. "By your good qualities my present work has been accomplished, we have now other work to do." Bhoja said :—"All that I am stating now is only feigned in order to beget my master's confidence. What is the use then in repeating such statements? What unfriendly deeds were not thought of or tried or what not done? Know that those which were not successful were not known to the public. We who have eyes of skin, [not of reason,] believed you before to be our enemy. But were you not born of the family of Malla for some great purpose? O! king! Whenever we wished to do some unfriendly act towards you, then always occurred great earthquakes. When, O! king! we heard of your great prowess described by the bright genius of poets, I felt a feverish impulse, on hearing of your valour, which never forsook me, neither in the crest of mountains nor in clefts, nor in the caverns, nor in the snows, nor in the groves of mountains. Since that time I felt a desire O! king! to take your shelter, and, though owing to the distance between us, the establishment of peace was not possible, yet I wished to humble myself before you. After I had wished for reconciliation, all my deeds undertaken through an impious zeal for war were insignificant and obscure. It is for our kinship with you that chiefs respect us and wait upon us. In this world, a glass vessel is respected when filled with the water of the Ganges. Even to this day, there are innumerable Kṣhatriyas on all sides of us,

connected with you by blood and called Shāheva." With adulations like these, Bhoja called his master, the arbiter of his fate, and again touched the king's feet with his head. He then rose, and in his hurry to bow down, his turban fell down, but the king covered Bhoja's head with the cloth from his own head. The king, with unabated gravity, took the dagger which was kept by Bhoja, and which was lying untouched, soothed him and placed it on his lap; and when Bhoja declined to take it, the king spoke thus:—"I give you this, and you should accept it and revere it; I desire that you should not decline to accept it." Bhoja knew the proper time and import of every act and he understood that the order of the proud king should not be disobeyed. He obeyed, bowed and took that weapon. Then, as if he had been an old servant of the king, he behaved freely with the king; he was reconciled with him, and became a boon companion. This fortunate man bowed to the king, praised him highly, and said:—"O! king! He is not fortunate who engages himself in any work other than that of listening to the account of your virtues. Neither life nor wealth is worth reckoning to day. Know therefore O! king! that the homage which is paid to you is without dissimulation." He again said:—"We think we can adequately express our loyalty to the king, but when we attempt to do so in words, we fail."

The king then for a short time made enquiries on

subjects both of great and little importance, and then went to the inner appartments of queen Raḍḍā, with Bhoja. Bhoja saw her beaming with courtesy, and he bowed to her and acknowledged that the king was the Pārijāta tree attended by Kalpalatā. Then the king said to the queen :—"O! Queen! This courteous kinsman has come to you." The queen replied :—"He should be honored and treated with respect among our sons." The king who was full of courtesy took Bhoja with him and went to the house of the queen who had accomplished the work of reconciliation, in order to do her honor. The clever queen smiled and spoke thus to Bhoja who had come with the king :—"Have you become a confidant of the sovereign within so short a time?" She smiled out of bashfulness as she bowed to her husband, the king, and welcomed his kinsman Bhoja, and spoke thus to the king about Bhoja. "O! Son of Ārya! he (Bhoja) neglected the council of his own men and followed honor. His endeavour to satisfy his kindred should not be forgotten. Lotuses grow in the water, but when grown, they rise above the water and are taken in company by other lotuses. Do thou also, lotus of the family! now accept Bhoja. We were tired with our task, and could not, without his help, have accomplished the work of supporting our dignity or even returning to our capital. When the tree which protects the sea shore falls, the creeper which clings to it falls also. The life of a woman is said to follow the course of her husband's

life. Means should be adopted for the protection of your life, so that there may not be any mishap to it." The king said to her:—"O Queen! You are a witness to all my deeds; do you not think that Bhoja's purpose honest? I have suppressed the wicked Sujji and Mallārjuna, but my heart which labored under sorrow has not even to this day been relieved of grief."

The king then asked Bhoja to stay in the most magnificient house, and Bhoja and his followers did not think it safe to stay anywhere else in the capital. He thought that those who remained at a distance became helpless, and were not able to see the king frequently, and consequently, could not serve the king. The king understood his purpose and was glad, and Bhoja lived in the house given to him by the king, within the capital, and furnished with all necessary furniture. The king also was served by his kindred and others, whose pleasure was heightened through affection; and his affection was drawn towards Bhoja, as to an old dependant. At the time of enjoyment, when there were many strange sights to see, the king used to remember him, like a beloved son, and used to call him, by messengers, to his side. As he was a kindred, the king, when at meal, used to place him on his right side and give him delicious food before he parted with him. The king bore towards him an unfeigned affection, like a father, and along with the sons of his own blood, he favored his relative. Though tended by many attendants, the king reposed his full

confidence on him. He too behaved befittingly. He pointed out to the king those who were intimate with him during the civil war, and thereby removed his displeasure and reduced the number of his enemies. He did not appear in the court as a meaningless show or like an impudent man or with the assumed virtue of a heron. When through carelessness, the king proceeded too far or too short in any act, he passed them unheeded, as the minor poems of a great poet are passed unnoticed. He did not narrate with pride the deeds of his valor or his gifts given in religious ceremonies; and when questioned, he did not speak of past events with exaggeration. With a bold look the wise Bhoja silenced those who flattered him, as equal to the king, or as born of the same family, and thus compared him with the king. Even when asked about his intentions, he would so lower his ambition, that the wicked, the cunning, and those who could see through a joke, could not fathom him. At times when the lights were extinguished, and all had retired on account of the darkness, he would go to the house of the king without betraying any fear. Even when the king slackened his vigilance, owing to his confidence in Bhoja, Bhoja acted like a tame horse, and did not run away. Always forward in other places, Bhoja felt himself embarrassed in going to the inner appartments or to the council room, although not forbidden. The king sent away even the lord of Darat who had petitioned for some concessions, for the

king felt his expectations could not be realized by depending on any one other than Bhoja. Guards were not set on Bhoja's way even in times of distrust, and Bhoja did not fail to disclose to the king even what he saw in dreams. He gave no account to the king of the mutual censure which the ministers and the ladies of the inner appartments indulged in, but forgot them like evil dreams. In assemblies where ill-natured jokes were indulged in, the intelligent Bhoja simply echoed the words of the bad men whose lightness was apparent in their words; but he spoke otherwise in his own mind. Thus endued with purity of intention, he became, by his deeds, the beloved of the king who understood business and who entertained a greater affection for him than for his own sons. King Simharāja attained what can with difficulty be attained by the kings of the Kali age; he constructed a new bridge, as it were, for saving his kindred.

When the tumults raised by Trillaka were quelled, he thought that even burning in fire would be a relief to his body. He delayed to escape in time by the mountain road which was devoid of snow, thinking that such escape was impossible, and that he would be caught in attempting it. Therefore while the sensible Trillaka waited for an opportunity to depart, Sañjapāla commenced to pursue him, without further deliberation. That great hero Trillaka who rested but little, stopped at Mārtāṇḍa with many good warriors of Devasarasa

That country was easily accessible to the opponents, nor was he so vain as to think that the hostile soldiers who were beyond Mārtāṇḍa were weak. The followers of Trillaka who had not their arrows near at hand, fought with their enemies; nor did they display cowardice. The Lavanya, with his unlimited soldiers and with the Ḍāmaras of several places, and with the whole strength, fought there in anger with those who were running. The men of Devasarasa fled, full of plundered riches. They felt the power of Sañjapāla. When the whole place was covered by rain and by enemies, the soldiers looked like the Kula mountains.* They who had been exposed to the powerful rays of the sun, had long withstood the rage of the foes and had destroyed several of the enemy's soldiers, were slain in these battles. The other party, when they had slain all the heroes in battle, reached Maṇḍala. The people of Mārttāṇḍa were also thickly wounded.

Gayāpāla, son of Sañjapāla, became distinguished in this battle. When three horses were killed under him, he fought on foot for want of a fourth, and was unobserved. His younger brother, the boy Jarjja, who fought for the first time in this battle, astonished the heroes who had witnessed innumerable great battles. He cut down the handsome right hand of the lord of Kampana. The sun torments large elephants and the hyppopotamus

* The seven great mountains that are believed to have kept their heads above the water at the deluge.

breaks their tusks. The lord of Kampana ran on horseback, displayed his weapon in one hand and looked like a forest fire with a column of smoke on a winged mountain.* In this fierce battle with the enemies, the horse, put to flight by a wound inflicted by an arrow, ran backwards and threw him down from its back. Owing to the weight of his armour and to the heavy fall on the surface of the ground, he became senseless, and was carried away by his two sons from among the enemies. When the army was completely destroyed, his men cast him in the courtyard of the temple of Mārttaṇḍa, out of the sight of the enemies, and fled. The lord of Kampana departed with the whole of the large army and found the Ḍāmara who was there, and crushed him.

When the king came to Vijayakṣhetra, Sañjapāla completely burnt the broken house of the Lavanya. The king frowned in anger, and the Lavanya, though reduced to that plight, was not reduced to poverty. He had plenty of food in the rows of villages in the mountains. He had no friends, and was sent away out of his family, and was rebuked by servants whose wisdom becomes cheap at the time of distress. His hand was cut, and owing to the helplessness of his condition, he gave up his head as an offering to the anger of the king, as one gives a fruit to Vishṇu.

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* It is believed that, in ancient times, mountains were furnished with wings.

The king then anointed Gulhaṇa, the eldest of the sons of Raḍḍādevī, as king of the prosperous kingdom of Lohara. That prince was aged six or seven years, and he surpassed older kings, as a young mango tree surpasses worn out trees. As the queen [Raḍḍā] went to anoint her son, the feudatory kings bowed to her, and reddened her feet by the rays of the rubies on their heads, as if by red paint. When the prince was anointed, the clouds, as if in compliance with the wishes of the queen, drenched the earth which had been dried up by a fearful drought.

Rājavadana who was anxious to create a revolution again vigorously attacked Jayachandra, in obedience to the orders of the king. Accompanied by the son of Nāga's brother, he destroyed the rear of the army which followed the son of Garga, as he was entering a narrow defile. The son of Garga, whose face became dejected on account of the discomfiture, captured Loshṭaka, the eldest of the sons of Nāga's brother, in battle, after a few days. Owing to the difficulty of access, Dinnāgrāma was not attacked by the enemies, but the son of Garga entered it with dexterous valor, burnt it, and came out of it. Even then Rājavadana's power was not reduced. He did not establish peace, nor was he angry with him who had gone out of Dinnāgrāma and with whom he was quite able to cope.

Jayachandra and others whose army decreased day by day, and who always disregarded discomforts, fell on the

king. The king placed the Tikṣhnas who had long arms and long fingers in an ambuscade and caused Jayachandra to be killed in the midst of the battle. Jayachandra who was engaged in the unfortunate battle was soon cut down, and his life departed from his body; his head and face rolled on the ground, and his body was cut to pieces. Seeking a pretext for the extermination of the family of Pṛithvīhara, the king killed even Loṭhana after he had bestowed on him the royal umbrella and staff. He had once been saved by Trillaka when surrounded by foes, but now he again fell in the meshes of the king's policy. Mallakoṣhṭa, Kṣharajayya, Maḍḍachandra and others were harassed by poverty and disturbances, and were like dead though living, and they remained quiet.

Siṃharāja, the chief of his dynasty, as if believing that the soul of king Uchchala was imperishable, gave an endowment to a maṭha which had obtained the protection of many kings, but which had been thrown into disorder through vanity proceeding from the possession of wealth. The king completed the ancestral Sullā vihāra, and the three temples commenced by his father, as well as the half-finished palace. He was of immovable purpose, and gathered faultless courtiers and friends around him by the gift of villages, articles and markets. In memory of the deceased Chandralā, an inmate of the female appartments, whose face was as beautiful as the moon, he established at Dvāra, a maṭha of exceeding beauty, in

which guests were never refused shelter. The king, who had no vanity, built Súryyamatīmaṭha with greater magnificence than before; and people talked with wonder about the structure.

Then, when Sañjapāla departed from this world, his son Gayāpāla was set up in Kampana by the king. People forgot the fame of the mighty and unbearable Sañjapāla when his gentle son succeeded, as they forget the autumn sun on seeing the g ntl. moon. When at the rising of a cloud, a sudden lightning strikes down a tree which had stood on the bank of a river, unaffected by the heat of the summer, the stream does not show the destruction of the tree, but displays the beauty of its own waters.

It was Dhanya who was the main stay of the king's party from the time of Bhikṣhu's destruction to the time when 'Bhoja was won over, that is, during the period of the king's trouble. He took an unusual interest in the performance of the king's work, and by treacherous murders, reduced and anihilated the enemies. He also devoted, like a son, his dear life to the service of that grateful king who should be saved at the sacrifice of the world's life, and who, though sunk in danger at every step, was steady in his purpose to protect his subjects. The king mixed with those who were near Dhanya wishing his welfare; and he remained sleepless and did not move from the side of Dhanya who was ill, in his last moments. The death of this dear subject and minis-

ter, for a time, gave new life to the people. They had grieved at the death of Māndhātā and other kings, but they now rejoiced. At the time when the kingdom of the new king was harassed by civil wars, it was his ministry which overcame all reverses and became irresistible. At the time when Sujji was killed and he became the superintendent of the capital, he put down the disorders in the kingdom which were of long growth. The use of Dīnnāra, in the making of purchases, had been prohibited by law, but he repealed the law, and Dīnnāra has now a wide currency without any fall in its price. When the character of a married woman was lost, the master of the house used to inflict punishment; but this practice was prohibited by him after deliberation. Thus on obtaining the superintendentship of the capital, he had become useful to men. But even he oppressed the people in conducting his affairs. He inflicted violent punishments on many dissipated men who, it was reported, had been living in houses full of immured women and dancing girls. What will you gain by thinking about the leaders of soldiers who were ever ready to fly like husks? Yet there was none so devoid of rebellious feelings and of avarice as he was. Even when he heard of Bhikṣhu and Mallārjjuna, he did not forsake the good of his master according to the prevalent custom of the time. In the time of prosperity, he never forgot his disinterestedness, and at the time of his death, he had not acquired much wealth either

honestly or dishonestly. The king divided the whole of Dhanya's wealth among his dependants, even as he would have done if Dhanya had been alive. How could he have expressed his gratitude to Dhanya more adequately than by this conduct? Dhanya had commenced building a Vihāra named Vijja, after the name of his beloved wife Vijjā who had gone to the next world. But after Dhanya had gone to the other world, the king spent some money from the remnant of Dhanya's estate to finish the Vihāra.

Encouraged to do good works by the virtues of the king who began many sacred works, the Rājavījī Saṅgiya, younger brother of Kamaliya, built a temple after his own name. He was born in the family of those Kṣhetriyas whose only occupation was to engage themselves in battle after drink, and who, when the Turaṣhkas entered the country, and there were numerous enemies, learned nothing but cruelty for the preservation of the native land. It was at the time when king Sussala was engaged in war that they took advantage of the discord to come into Kashmīra, according to their custom. Men learn wisdom at the Vāṇaliṅga, set up by Saṅgiya, on the banks of the Vitastā, even like those who have obtained salvation on the banks of the Ganges. The sight of his maṭha graced with devotees satiates the curiosity to see the heaven of Mahādeva.

Having spent money to no purpose, the clear headed Loṭhana did not commence any other consecration.

Chintā, wife of Udaya, lord of Kampana, adorned the land on the banks of the Vitastā with a vihāra. There the five temples in the vihāra appeared like the five tall fingers of the hand of the god of virtue. Maṅkhaka, minister for war and peace, brother of Alaṅkāra, set up the Shrīkaṇṭha maṭha, and became great.

Sumanā, the younger sister [of Alaṅkāra] became equal to Rilhaṇa by pious acts such as constructing maṭha, giving villages to Brāhmaṇas, building temples of gods and repairing the worn out temples. [Rilhaṇa] raised a maṭha at Bhuteshvara, and he paid oblation to his ancestors with the waters of the gold bearing Vitastā, which flowed by Trigrāma. In the district named Kashyapāgāra, the river Nīlabhū flows eastward, as if emulating the Ganges. There he caused a bridge to be built for the crossing over of cows and other animals. He secured his salvation by this pious act. Even in the capital he built a house inscribed with his name, for Mahādeva, and constructed maṭhas for the shelter of images of Shiva which were deprived of their temples. He constructed an image named Mammeshvara of pure gold, and constructed Somatīrtha and a garden in a lake which was illuminated on its sides. Born in the dynasty of the king who was the master of life and property and possessed of greatness and riches, he excited the jealousy of the ministers, even as king Māndhātā, when seated in his new seat in heaven, excited Indra's jealousy and anger and was cast out of heaven by him. The king

who was steady of purpose saw his servants improving in their work day by day and thought of his own great intellect and was happy.

King Kalasha had strong common sense, and his servant Rilhaṇa set up gold umbrellas and became his favourite. At Sureshvārī where the united images of Hara and Pārvatī were kept, the gold umbrella, decorated with bells, won the affection of both the god and the goddess, on the "night of the lamps." The gold umbrella seemed like the mountain Meru which appeared to have travelled to the spot to breathe on the heads of Pārvatī and Hara who were the daughter and son-in-law of his friend the Himālaya mountain. The fire of Mahādeva's eye pondered thus:—"Mahādeva burnt Kāma, the beloved Umā therefore embraced Mahādeva in terror; she should therefore feel grateful to Kāma." Thus pondering, the fire darted upwards in the form of an umbrella. There was a large gold umbrella constructed by Rilhaṇa and fixed on the top of the temple of the beloved of Rukminī, (Krishṇa), and now it looks small and beautiful, as if the sun has come to see whether his master Nārāyaṇa has recovered his Chakra, beautiful as itself (the sun), and which Chakra had once gone mad with drinking blood and had fled away. At the shrine which has been deeply and everlastingly hallowed by the conqueror of Kāma (Mahādeva) and by him (Vishṇu) whose banner is marked with the image of a bird, there on an ornamental stick, Mahādeva's golden umbrella, the perfection

of workmanship, looked like the pollen of the lotus of the Ganges whirled round by the breath of the serpent on his head.* [The silver umbrella] of the other god [Vishṇu] seemed like a lightning on the skirts of his cloud-like hair. Within the rich, deep and golden dome of the temple, looking like t.. dome of the universe, the white and the sable beauty of Mahādeva and Vishṇu blends with the rays of the spreading umbrella. The beautiful gold umbrella spreads over them, as over two seas.

After the king of Lohara (Gulhaṇa), queen Roḍḍā's four sons, clever and eminent on account of their virtues, became kings. As Lakshmaṇa bore inseparable love towards Rāma, so Gulhaṇa is loved by Aparāditya, and lives in prosperity in Lohara. As Shatrughna was brought up by Bharata, even so Jayāpiḍa lives under the fostering care of Lalitāditya. King Ahaskara was renowned on account of humility and was the fifth virtuous king, and rose like the young sun. He was restless on account of his young age, graceful on account of his reverence and power, and although like the beautiful sun, he softened men. His fair face with eyes lined with collyrium, and his lower lip red as copper, appeared like a golden lotus on which the rays of the newly risen sun were reflected. Though

* It would appear that Mahādeva was here represented by an image with a serpent round its head and with the Ganges flowing through its hair.

young, his conversation was clear and full of magnanimity, and was as grateful to men as the source of the nectar, (the moon), churned out of the ocean. He is born of a great family, and the graceful dignity of his infancy indicates future expansion. Four daughters,—Menilā, Rājalakshmī, Padmashrī and Kamalā,—all bent on good deeds, were born to the king of Kashmīrā. Always surrounded by beautiful children in the pleasure garden made for enjoyment, the unblemished king and queen look graceful like two gardens in the rainy season. By the reduction of the expenditure of the kingdom, hallowed by holy temples, the riches of queen Roḍḍā were augmented. The queen was followed by the king and petty chiefs and ministers in her pilgrimage to shrines of gods, and she beamed like the goddess of Royal Fortune. When she bathed, her companions in pilgrimage touched the person of that chaste lady and instantly abandoned their desire to touch the image of Satī. When she marched, the rain clouds in the sky always followed her, in order to see her, as they follow the rainy season; no doubt, because, when she bathed in the shrines of this world, the shrines of heaven bathed her too, out of jealousy, in the guise of rain clouds. In her eagerness to go to shrines, the queen with her tender limbs does not think even the cloud-touching hills and the bank-breaking rivers in her way to be insurmountable. By setting up many images and repairing worn out temples, the wise and clever queen surpassed the

"Idle" (Nirjjitavarmmā) and Diddā. She set up a beautiful image of Rudra named Rudreshvara, made of white stone, grateful as the source of the nectar, (the moon), and beauteous as the melting sea of cream. It shines to this day and destroys hunger, thirst, poverty and all disturbances. Set with pure gold, it is the grac ful ornament of Kashmīra, the essence of all beautiful things in the world. She also repaired the building named Shāntāvasāda.

When the king is ruffled with anger, as the sea is by the sub-marine fire, the queen is the shelter of the servants, as the Ganges is of aquatic creatures. When the king is in even temper, punishments or favors on [subordinate] kings were awarded at her desire. She favored king Bhūpāla, son of Somapāla, by marriage with the honorable Meniladevī. The dignity inherited from noble birth is easily discerned, and is never completely lost. The fiery sun has the power to destroy darkness, and the disk (moon) receives the power from the sun, and so destroys darkness. This kingdom, wonderful among all kingdoms on earth, and purified and full of jewels, displays in a befitting manner the virtues of the king. After Menilādevī was married, her father sincerely forgot his former displeasure against the bridegroom and bestowed on him a kingdom.

The king had, by his vigour, killed king Prājidhara and other enemies in battle. The powerful Ghaṭotkacha, younger brother of Prājidhara now tried to heal up his enmity with the king. He took shelter of Roḍḍā and

obtained a beautiful kingdom, and enjoyed a kingly fortune. Pañchavaṭa, helped by the ministers of the king, caused the kingdom of Aṅgada including Prajji to be taken away from its owner who behaved with hostility towards his brother. His [Pañchavaṭa's] prowess was as great as that of the Sphāradānā river, when full of water ; but by crossing it, he [Ghaṭotkacha] eluded that river as well as Pañchavaṭṭa's black sword flashing before enemies. The latter [Pañchavaṭa] created a bad name for the king, and by the prowess of the gods, took possession of Atyugrapura full of combatants. Under the beams of the white umbrella, beautiful as the moon, many joyful leaders of armies thus attained fame.

In this year 25, twenty-two years have now passed since the king obtained the kingdom. Owing to the virtues of the subjects, the happiness attained by this king in the end was not equalled in any other place for many years and cycles. Water which naturally flows is, by a certain plant, consolidated, and it becomes like stone. Solid stone (sun-jewel) melts at the rising of the sun, and flows. Whose work can shine unchanged against the irrisistible power of time, as long as such irrisistible power endures ? Such is the power of Fate !

When 653 years of Kali had elapsed, Gonarda became king in Kashmīra by serving the Pāṇdavas. Then his son Dāmodara, then Dāmodara's wife Yashomatī, then her son another Gonarda. Then thirty-five kings whose good deeds, family and names are unknown. Passing them over,

Lava became king. His son was Kusheshaya. His son and grandson named Khagendra and Surendra became kings. Then Godhara born of another family became king. Then his son named Suvarṇa. His son Janaka became king. Shachīnara son of Shachī [wife of Janaka], and then his cousin's son Ashoka became king. Then his son Jalouka. Then Dāmodara born in a family which is not well known. Then the three Hushka &c. of the Turushka family jointly became kings. Then Abhimanyu. Then the third Gonarda. Then Vibhīshaṇa. Then Indrajita and Rāvana, father and son, successively became kings. Another Vibhīshaṇa,* and Sidha. Then his son Utpalākṣha. After him Hiraṇyāksha. Then Hiraṇyakulaka. His son king Vasukula. Then Shrīmihirakula known as the destroyer of three koti [men]. After him Vaka. Then king Kṣhitinanda. Then his son Vasunanda. Another Nara. Then Akṣha. Then Gopāditya and Gokarṇa successively. From him was Narendrāditya. His son the blind Yudhiṣhṭhira; he was deposed by his servants. Pratāpāditya born of another family became king. His son Jalauka. His son Tuñjīna. Then Vijaya born of another family. His son Jayendra who had no children. Then was the minister Sandhimāna. Then Shrīmeghavāhana, grandson of Yudhiṣhṭhira, son of Bhūpāditya. When through Meghavāhana the family of Gonarda had become prosperous, then in the kingdom of Kashmīra Pravarasena

* Nara has been left out.

became king. His son Hiraṇya governed the world. Then the kingdom was given to Mātṛigupta by the enemy of the Shakas [Vikramāditya of Ujjayanī.] Then another Pravarasena, son of Toramāṇa, Hiraṇya's brother's son, obtained the country. Then his son Yudhiṣhṭhira. Then . endrāditya and Raṇāditya successively became kings. Then his [Raṇāditya's] son Vikramāditya. Then was Bālāditya son of Vikramāditya. Then Durlabhavarddhana son-in-law of Bālāditya. Then his son Durlabhaka. Then Chandrāpīḍa, his younger brother Tārāpīḍa, his younger brother Muktāpīḍa became kings. His step brother Kuvalayāpīḍa. Muktāpīḍa's son Vajrāditya. His sons Pṛithivyāpīḍa and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa, became kings. Then Jayāpīḍa and his minister Jajja, and then Lalitāpīḍa and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa two sons of Jayāpīḍa successively became kings. Then was Shrīchippaṭajayāpīḍa, son of the elder [Lalitāpīḍa], born of the daughter of Kalpapāla. His maternal uncles Utpala and others killed him by magic and without getting the kingdom themselves, set up by mutual consent, in Chippaṭajayāpīḍa's place, his brother's son Ajitāpīḍa. Then Anaṅgapīḍa son of Saṅgrāmapīḍa. He was deposed and succeeded by Utpalāpīḍa son of Ajitāpīḍa. The minister Shūra deposed him [and raised] Avantivarmmā. Utpala's grandson, Sukhavarmmā's son, the celebrated hero Shaṅkaravarmmā was established in the kingdom. His son Gopāla. Then his brother Saṅkaṭa who was picked up in the streets. Their mother Sugan-

dhā, who reigned after murdering Saṅkaṭa. The Tantri infantry made the cripple Nirjjitavarmmā, great grandson of Shūravarmmā, king, and then Pártha. Then Chakravarmmā and Shūravarmmā, sons of Nirjjitavarmmā.* After the death of Chakrávarmmā, the sinful Unmattavanti, son of Pártha. After him his son Shūravarmmā. When he was dethroned, the Dvijas made the minister Yashaskara, king. His cousin's son Varṇaṭa. After him his son the crooked feeted Saṅgrāma got the kingdom. Dethroning him, the minister named Parvvagupta obtained the kingdom by rebellion. Then his son Kṣhemagupta. His son Abhimanyu. After his death, his son Nandagupta who was nursed by his mother, [*i. e.*, who was very young]. Then Tribhuvanagupta. And after his death Bhīmagupta. And after his death, the cruel Diddā who killed her son's son. And after her, she made her brother's son Saṅgrāmadeva, king. Then his two sons Harirāja and Anantadeva. Ananta's son Kalasha. His two sons successively Utkarṣha and Harṣha. Dethroning Harṣha, Uchchala of the same family got the kingdom. Uchchala was born of Malla, the grandson of Jassarāja who was Diddā's, brother's son. Uchchala was killed by a revolt of servants and in their presence. Raḍḍa alias Shaṅkharāja became king for a short time. He was killed by Gargga, and Salhaṇa step brother of [Raḍḍa] became king. King Uchchala's powerful brother named Sussala, son of Malla, killed Salhaṇa and possessed the

* Sambhubardhana has been left out.

kingdom. He was overthrown by the disaffected servants; and for six months, king Harṣha's grandson named Bhikṣhāchara was made king. Banishing him, Sussala again obtained the kingdom. The trusted Lavanyas in time killed the harassed king Sassala in a civil discord. But after destroying the whole of the Lavanyas as well as the king Bhikṣhāchara, king Sussala's son king Jaya-siṃha of great forgiveness at present lives and delights the world.

Like the river Godāvarī with its winding course, flowing rapidly through seven mouths, this wave of kings has entered for repose, the great sea like dynasty of king Shrīkānta.

This is the eighth Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgini by the great poet Shrīkalhaṇa.

Here ends the Rājataraṅginī by the great poet Kalhana, son of the great and clever minister Champaka prabhu.



After Kahlana's death, his narrative was continued by four other chroniclers successively and their work constitutes the subject matter of Volume III.

An important feature of the present set of volumes is the inclusion in Volume II of a masterly review of Kahlana's work by R. C. Dutt, analysing its contents and structure, which had originally appeared in the Calcutta Review.

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